

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N,
TRANSLATED FROM THE PERSIAN.

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C O N T E N T S

TO THE

SECOND VOLUME.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

INVASION OF TIMUR-BEC.

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	1		6
	Tamerlane lays Tadmubi- ni under contribution		Totally defeats the ene- my—who desert the ci- ty
	2		7
	Shawnawze pillaged		A general massacre in Delhi
	ibid.		8
	Pier Mahommed blocka- ded in Moultan		Another account of the massacre in Delhi
	3		9
	Is relieved by Timur		Timur enters Delhi
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
H I N D O S T A N.

INVASION OF TIMUR-BEC.

TIMUR-BEC, being informed of the commo-
 tions and civil wars of India, began his expedition
 into that country, in the eight hundredth year of
 the Higerah, and, on the twelfth of Mohirrim,
 in the following year, arrived on the banks of the
 Chule Jallali, one of the most westerly branches of
 the Indus. He immediately dispatched Noor ul
 Dien to dispossess Mubarick, who, on the part of
 the king of Delhi, had, in charge, the defence
 of the frontier districts. When Noor ul Dien
 had arrived within a few miles of Mubarick, he
 summoned him to submit to Timur. But as the
 imperial general had previously retreated into
 a strong hold, on the bank of the river, round
 which he had drawn a ditch, forming the place
 into an island, he determined to defend himself
 to the last.

A.D. 1397.
 Higerah
 801. Tz-
 merlane
 invades
 Hindostan.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 801.

Noor ul Dien, however, found means, upon making his approaches, to fill up the ditch : but at night he suffered a considerable loss, by a violent sally of the besieged ; whom, in the end, he repulsed, and forced to take shelter within the walls. Timur himself advanced against the enemy, with his whole army. Mubarick, intimidated by the approach of Timur, stowed privately, in forty boats, his treasure and family, and fell down the river, being two days pursued in vain, by Noor ul Dien, who was detached with a party after him. The garrison, after the departure of their leader, immediately surrendered.

Tamerlane
lays Tul-
mubini un-
der contri-
bution.

Timur proceeded down the river to the conflux of the Jimboo and Chinab, where there was a strong fort and town, known by the name of Tulmubini. He ordered a bridge to be laid across the river, by which his army might pass. Having pitched his camp, without the town, he laid it under a heavy contribution. But whilst the inhabitants were very busy in collecting the sum demanded, a complaint being made in the camp, of the scarcity of provisions, orders were issued to seize grain wherever it should be found. The soldiers, upon this, hastened to search the town, but not being content to take provisions alone, the natural consequence was, that a general plunder ensued. The inhabitants, endeavouring to oppose this outrage, were massacred without mercy.

Shawnawaze
pillaged.

To besiege the citadel would but retard the designs of Timur. He therefore marched; the next day after the massacre, to a town called Shawnawaze, where he found more grain than was sufficient to serve his whole army. He therefore ordered, that what could not be carried away should be burnt ; having previously cut off Jisferit, the brother of the prince of the Gickers, who had attempted to defend the place with two thousand

thousand men: Timur marched, on the third day, from Shahnawaze, and, crossing the Sea, came into a rich and plentiful country. A D 1397
Hig 851.

It may not be improper here to say something concerning the proceedings of the prince, the grandson of Timur, Pier Mahommed, after his having, as has been already mentioned, taken Moultan. The Solstitial rains having destroyed a great part of his cavalry, in the field, he was under the necessity of drawing his army into the city of Moultan. There he was driven to the utmost distress by the inhabitants of the country, who had closely invested him. His cavalry, instead of being able to act against them, diminished daily in their numbers, for want of forage. Pier Mahommed
blockade
in Moul-
tan.

In this untoward situation were the affairs of that prince, when his grandfather entered Hindostan. Timur immediately reinforced Mahomed with a detachment of thirty thousand chosen horse, and soon after joined him with his whole army. The prince carried in his mind great animosity against the governor of Battenize, who had chiefly distressed him. Timur, to chastise the governor, selected ten thousand horse, with which he marched directly towards him. When he reached Adjodin, he was shewn the tomb of the learned Ferid, the poet, in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Delhi and Battenize. Is relieved
by Timur,

Timur continued then his march to Battenize, crossing the river of Adjodin, and encamping at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched one hundred miles to Battenize. Upon his arrival, the people of Debalpoor, and other adjacent towns, crowded into the place, in such numbers, that half of them were driven out, and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were who arrives
at Battenize, and suppress
it.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A.D. 1597
Hij. 851.

were there attacked, the first day, by the king, and some thousands of them slain. Raw Chilligi, who was governor of the place, seeing the enemy so few in number, drew out the garrison, and formed them without the town, in order of battle. The Moguls, however, upon the first onset, drove him back within his walls, while the king, in person, pressed so hard upon the enemy's rear, that he possessed himself of the gates before they could be shut. Then driving the runaways from street to street, he became, in a few hours, entirely master of the place, except the citadel; to reduce which, he ordered a party immediately to dismount, and begin to undermine it.

The city
taken,

The garrison desired to capitulate, to which Timur agreed; and the governor, having had an interview with the king, presented him with three hundred Arabian horses, and with many of the valuable curiosities of Hindostan. Timur, in return, honoured him with a chelat; and after the conditions were settled, sent Soliman, Sheh, and Omar Ulla, to take possession of the gates, commanding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place, and had before been active against his grandson Mahommed. The rest, after being plundered, were ordered to be dismissed.

In consequence of this inhuman order, five hundred persons, in a few minutes, were put to death. Those who remained still within the fort, were so struck with this massacre, that they set fire to the place, murdered their wives and children, and, in mere despair, sought after nothing but revenge and death. The scene now became terrible! but the unfortunate inhabitants were, in the end, cut off to a man; they however revenged themselves amply, upon the rapacious and inhuman authors of their distress; some thousands of the Moguls having fallen by their hands.

This

This so much exasperated Timur, that firebrand of the world, that he ordered every soul in Bat-
A. D 1397
Hig 851
tenize to be massacred, and to reduce the city itself to ashes.

Timur, marching to Surusti, put the inhabitants of that place, also, to the sword, and gave the town up to pillage. Advancing to Fatteabad, he continued the same scene of barbarity, through that, and the adjacent towns of Rahib, Amirani, and Jonah. He detached Hakîm Agherâck towards Sammana, with five thousand horse, and with the few that remained, he himself scoured the country, and cut off a tribe of banditti called Jits, who had lived for some years by rapine. His army, in the mean time, being divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through all the provinces of Moultan and Lahore, but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keitil, a town within ten miles of Sammana.

Timur himself soon joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Delhi. When he reached Panniput, he ordered his soldiers to put on their fighting apparel*; and, that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, took the fort of Lowni by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. He then marched down along the river, and encamped opposite to the citadel of Delhi, posting guards to prevent all communication. He immediately detached Soliman and Jehan to scour the country behind him to the south and south east of the city; whilst he himself that very day, with seven hundred horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre the citadel.

Several cities taken by Timur, and the inhabitants massacred.

Arrives before Delhi,

which he reconnoitres.

* Coats stuffed thick with cotton, worn instead of armour.

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 801.

The King of Delhi and his minister, Eckbal, seeing so few in the retinue of Timur, issued forth with five thousand foot and twenty-seven elephants against him. Sillif, an Omrah of repute in Delhi, who led on the attack, was repulsed and taken prisoner by the Moguls. Timur ordered him to be immediately beheaded, and after having made the observations which he had intended, repassed the river and joined his army.

He next morning moved his camp more to the eastward, where he was told, by the princes and generals of his army, that there were then above one hundred thousand prisoners in his camp, who had been taken since he crossed the Indus; that these unfortunate persons had, the day before, expressed great joy, when they saw him attacked before the citadel; which rendered it extremely probable, that, on a day of battle, they would join with their countrymen against him. The inhuman Timur, who might have found other means of prevention, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the sword, so that, upon that horrid day, one hundred thousand men were massacred, in cold blood. This barbarity, together with his other actions of equal cruelty, gained him the name of Hillâk Chan, or the destroying Prince. Upon the fifth of the first Jemmad, Timur forded the river with his army without opposition, and encamped on the plains of the city of Firose, a part of Delhi; where he entrenched himself, filling the ditch with buffaloes fronting the enemy. He fastened the buffaloes with ropes and picquets to their stations, placing, at the same time, strong guards, at proper distances, behind them.

He massacres 100,000 prisoners in cold blood,

Though the astrologers pronounced the seventh an unlucky day, the king marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order of battle. King Mahmood and Eckbal, with the army of
Delhi,

Delhi, and one hundred and twenty elephants in mail, advanced towards him. But upon the very first charge of a squadron, called the Heroes of Chighitta, the clephant-drivers were dismounted, and the outrageous animals, deprived of their guides, ran raring back, and spread terror and confusion among their own ranks. The veteran troops of Timur, who had already conquered half the world, improved this advantage, and the degenerate Hindoos were, in a few minutes, totally routed, without making one brave effort for their country, lives, and fortunes. The conqueror pursued them, with great slaughter, to the very gates of Delhi, near which he fixed his quarters.

A. D. 1397.
Fig. 801
totally de-
feats the
enemy

The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Mahmood and his minister deserted, in the night, their capital; the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Berren. Timur, having intelligence of their flight, detached parties after them, one of which coming up with Mahmood, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, Seif ul Dien and Choda Daad, prisoners. Timur received the submission of all the great men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection upon paying great contributions; and, upon the Friday following, he ordered the royal proclamation and titles to be read in his own name in all the mosques. Upon the sixteenth of the same month he placed guards at the gates, and appointed the scribes of the city, and magistrates, to regulate the contribution according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was, in the mean time, lodged, that several omrahs and rich men had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay down their share of the ransom. This obliged Timur to send troops into

who desert
the city.

A. D. 1397. into the city, to enforce the authority of the magistrates. A general confusion, uproar, and plundering, immediately ensued, which could not be restrained by the Mogul officers, who, at the same time, durst not acquaint the king that their authority was contemned by the troops.

Timur, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp, in celebrating a grand festival, on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of these proceedings. The first notice he had of them, was by the flames of the city; for the Hindoos, according to their manner, seeing their wives and daughters ravished and polluted, their wealth seized by the hand of rapine, and they themselves insulted, beat, and abused, at length, with one consent, shut the city gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and ran out like madmen against their enemies.

A general
massacre in
Delhi.

But little effect had the despair of the unfortunate upon the Moguls, who soon collected themselves, and began a general massacre. Some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead: and, in the mean time, the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army were admitted. Then followed a scene of horror, much easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the unfortunate Delhians, was at length cooled in their own blood. They threw down their weapons, they submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. They permitted one man to drive a hundred of them prisoners before him; so that we may plainly perceive, that cowardice is the mother of despair. In the city, the Hindoos were, at least, ten to one, superior in number to the enemy, and had they possessed souls, it would have been impossible for the Moguls, who were scattered about in every street, house, and corner,

laden

laden with plunder, to have resisted the dreadful assault. But though the Indians had the savage resolution of imbruing their hands in the blood of their wives and children, we find them still the slaves of fear, and shrinking at the approach of that death, which they could so readily execute upon others.

This massacre is, in the History of Nizam, otherwise related. The collectors of the ransom, says he, upon the part of Timur, having used great violence, by torture and other means, to extort money, the citizens fell upon them, and killed some of the Moguls. This circumstance being reported to the Mogul king, he ordered a general pillage, and, upon resistance, a massacre to commence. This account carries greater appearance of truth along with it, both from Timur's general character of cruelty, and the improbability of his being five days close to the city without having intelligence of what passed within 'the walls' But the imperial race of Timur take, to this day, great pains to invalidate this opinion, nor do they want arguments on their side. The principal one is this, that, in consequence of a general plunder, the king would have been deprived of the ransom, which must have been exceedingly great, and for which he only received the elephants and regalia. Neither have we any account of his taking any part of the plunder from his army afterwards, though it must have been very immense.

The king, after this horrid scene, entered the city, taking to himself one hundred and twenty elephants, twelve rhinoceroses, and a number of curious animals, that had been collected by the emperor Ferose. The fine mosque, built by that prince, upon the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, being esteemed a masterpiece of architecture and taste, took so much the fancy

A. D. 1397.
Hig. 801,

Another
account of
the massacre
in Delhi.

Timur en-
ters Delhi.

A. D. 1597. fancy of the conqueror, that he ordered stone-
 Hig. 801. cutters and masons from Delhi to Samarcand, to
 build one upon the same plan.

Resolves
 to return.

After having stayed fifteen days at Delhi, Ti-
 mur took a sudden resolution of returning, and
 he accordingly marched out to Firoseabad, whi-
 ther the Indian governor of Mewat sent him two
 white parrots, as curiosities, with professions of
 subjection. The king sent Seid Turmuzi to bring
 him to the presence, which summons he immedi-
 ately obeyed; and Chizer †, who had lain con-
 cealed in the hills, appeared in the royal presence,
 and was favourably received.

Arrives at
 Paniput.

The king marching from Firoseabad arrived
 at Paniput, from whence he detached Amir
 Shaw, to besiege Merat, a strong fort, situated
 between the rivers, about sixty miles from Delhi.
 When Amir Shaw reached the place, upon recon-
 noitring its strength, and finding the garrison de-
 termined to defend it, he mentioned in a letter
 to the king, that they insulted him from the
 walls, by telling him he could succeed no better
 than Seri, the Mogul prince, who had formerly
 attempted to take the place.

Besieges
 and takes
 Merat.

This had the desired effect upon the king, who
 immediately marched his army against Merat,
 and, without delay, began to sink his mines, and
 carry on his approaches; advancing his sap to-
 wards the walls, at the rate of fifteen yards every
 twenty-four hours. Elias Adyhuni, the son of
 Moluna, Ahmud, and Suffi, defended the place
 with great resolution. But the Moguls having
 filled up the ditch, placed their scaling ladders,
 and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite
 of all opposition; and, without waiting for a
 breach by means of the mines, stormed the place,
 and put every soul within it to the sword. The

† Afterwards Emperor.

mines, however, being finished, the king ordered them to be sprung, which blew the walls and bastions into pieces. A D. 1397
Hig 801.

Timur continued his march to the skirts of the mountains of Sewalic, marking his way with fire and sword. Crossing, then, the Ganges, he subdued the country as high as where the river issues from the mountains; returning from thence, he repassed the river, and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by an Indian zemindar, whom he defeated and plundered. He then continued his rout, taking several small forts in his way; having arrived at Jimmugur, he fought the raja of that place, who was wounded, taken, and forced to become a Mussulman. His progress
towards the
head of the
Ganges

Jifferit, the brother of the prince of Gickers, who had fled to him after his being defeated by Timur, had by his brother been severely reprimanded for opposing the king; which having been represented to Timur, the prince was admitted into his presence, and became a great favorite. But when the king had marched on to Delhi, he remembered not his obedience, and in the absence of Timur possessed himself of Lahore. Lahore taken. The king having returned to Jimbo,* the Gicker refused to submit to his authority. The Sultan sent part of his army to besiege Lahore, which being taken in a few days, the prince was brought prisoner to the king, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded.

We do not find that Timur appointed any king to govern Hindostan, which he had in a great measure subdued. He, however, confirmed the subas, who had submitted to him, in their governments; and, from this circumstance, we may suppose, that he intended to retain the empire in his own name; though he left no troops

* A fort in Punjaab, three days journey north of Lahore.

A D. 1397
Hig. 801.

him, except a small detachment in Delhi, behind him, to secure it from further depredations. While he remained at Jimbo, he appointed Chizer vice-roy of Moultan, Lahore, and Dibalpoor, then proceeded, by the way of Cabul, to Samarcand. The city of Delhi had remained in anarchy for two months after the departure of Timur, when it was taken possession of by the emperor Nuserit, with only two thousand pretenders, from Merat. Two chiefs, Shab and Almas, with their troops and ten elephants, joined him soon after from the same place; Nurserit immediately Shab, with his troops, towards sent him against Eckbal, who had there taken up Birren, since. But Shab was attacked, in the night, upon his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Eckbal, and slain; Eckbal pursuing this advantage, took all the baggage of Shab's army.

Success raising the reputation as well as Eckbal, he, in a few days, thought himself in a condition to make an attempt upon the capital, which he did with success; for Nuserit, upon his approach, fled to Merat; and Eckbal resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled to different places, having still a natural hankering after their old abode, began to assemble again, and the place, in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially the quarter called the New City.

Eckbal possessed himself soon of the country between the two rivers, which, with a small district round the city, was all that now held of the capital. The subas had rendered themselves independent, in their own governments, during the misfortunes and confusion of the empire. As seized upon by Azim;—Malava by Guzarat v Delawir;

Eckbal recovers Delhi.

The Subas revolt from the empire.

Delawir;—Kinnoge, Oud, Kurrah, and Jionpoor, by Chaja Jehan, commonly called the King of the East;—Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Moulton, by Chizer;—Sammana by Ghalil;—Bana by Shumfe;—Mahoba by Mahommed, the son of Malleck, and grandson of Feroze; and so on with regard to the other provinces, the governors asserting their own independence, and styling themselves Kings.

In the month of the first Jemmad, 803, Eckbal marched with an army from Delhi towards Biana, and defeated Shumfe; whose troops joining him, he proceeded to Kittar, and after having levied a great contribution upon the territory of Narfing, returned to Delhi. Intelligence was soon after brought him, that Chaja Jehan was dead at Jionpoor, and that his adopted son, Kirrinphil, having assumed the title of the Emperor Mubarick, held that government. Eckbal having gained over to his interest Shumfe; governor of Biana, Mubarick and Bahadre of Mcwat, marched the same year against Kirrinphil.

When he had reached the village of Pattiali, upon the banks of the Ganges, Rai Seri, and all the zemindars of that country, opposed him; but he defeated them, with great slaughter. After this victory, he marched to Kinnoge, with an intention to proceed to Jionpoor, and from thence to Bengal. Upon his march, however, he was met by Kirrinphil, who opposed his crossing the Ganges so effectually, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking; and to return to his own country. But the perfidious Eckbal, entertaining some groundless suspicions of Shumfe and Mubarick, assassinated them both upon their way back to their own governments.

The emperor Mahmood, in the year 804, being disgusted with Ziffer, governor of Guzrat, fled

A. D. 1398.
Hig. 801.

A. D. 1400.
Hig. 803.
Eckbal de-
feats
shumfe.

Frustrated
in his de-
signs upon
Jionpoor.

Mahmood
returns to
Delhi.

A. D. 1401.
Hig. 804.

fled from him to Malava, and soon after, by the invitation of Eckbal, returned to Delhi. He, however, contented himself with a pension, fearing that his interfering in the government would prove fatal to him. Advice being arrived, that Kirrinphil, or, as he stiled himself, Mubarick, was dead, at Jionpoor, Eckbal, taking along with him the Emperor Mahmood, marched again towards Kinnoge; upon which, Ibrahim, the brother of Mubarick, who had mounted the throne, advanced with the troops of the East to meet him.

His folly.

When the armies were near one another, Mahmood dissatisfied with his condition, and having the folly to imagine that Ibrahim would acknowledge him king, and abdicate the throne of the Eastern provinces for his sake, escaped, one day, when he was out hunting, to the army of Ibrahim. But when that prince learned the intentions of Mahmood, he even withheld from him the necessaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Mahmood returned, in great distress, to Kinnoge, and was left, by Eckbal, in the government of that city; the governor, who was formerly there on the part of Ibrahim, being driven out. Ibrahim, however, put up with this insult, and returned to Jionpoor, while Eckbal retired to Delhi.

Made governor of
Kinnoge.

Eckbal
marches
against
Gualier.

In the year 805, Eckbal marched against Gualier, which had fallen into the hands of Narfing, during the invasion of Timur, and had now, upon Narfing's death, descended to his son, Byram Deo. The fort being very strong, he could effect nothing against it, but plundering the district around, he returned to Delhi. Brooking ill, however, this disappointment, he, in a short time, marched a second time against Gualier. Byram Deo sallied out of the place, and engaged Eckbal, but he was soon driven back into the fort,

fort, the siege of which Eckbal was again obliged to raise; and having plundered the country as before, he returned to Delhi. A. D. 1401.
Hig 804.

Eckbal, in the year 807, drew an army towards Atava, and having, in several battles, defeated the Hindoo chief of Sibbiri, the prince of Gualier, the raja of Jallar, and others, who possessed that country, he raised contributions there. He then turned his arms against the nominal emperor Mahmood, in Kinnoge. The Sultan shut himself up in the city, and Eckbal invested it for some time, but, not being able to reduce the place, he raised the siege, and marched towards Sammana. Atava,
and Kinnoge.

Byram, a descendant of one of the Turkish slaves of the emperor Feroze, had fixed himself in Sammana, and, upon the approach of Eckbal, had fled to the hills of Budhoor; Eckbal closely pursuing him, encamped at the skirts of the mountains. Aliun came to mediate matters, and a peace was soon patched up between the contending parties, and both joining their forces together, marched towards Moulton, against Chizer. At Tilbundi they were opposed by Rai Daood, Camel Mai, and Rai Hubbu, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated and taken prisoners. The perfidious Eckbal, after this victory, without any apparent reason, except a desire of aggrandizing himself, seized upon Byram, and ordered him to be flay'd alive. The death of Byram did not remain long unrevenge. Eckbal arriving near Adjoudin, Chizer met him, with the troops of Moulton, Punjaab, and Dibalpoor, and, upon the nineteenth of the first Jemmad, and two armies engaged; Eckbal was slain, and the world was happily rid of a perfidious and cruel villain. A. D. 1404
Hig. 807
Byram's flay'd alive
Eckbal Chan slain.

Dowlat Lodi, and Aftiar, who commanded in Delhi, being informed of this event, called the emperor Sultan Mahmood restored

A. D. 1404.
Hig. 807.

Flies from
Kinnoge.
Pursued by
Sultan
Ibrahim.

emperor Mahmood from Kinnoge. Mahmood, coming with a small retinue to Delhi, reassumed the throne; but, laying aside any further efforts to reduce Moulton, he sent Dowlat with an army against Byram, who, upon the death of the former Byram, possessed himself of Sammana. The emperor himself returned back, in the mean time, to Kinnoge; Ibrahim marched against him, and, after some skirmishes, obliged him to retreat to Delhi. The Sultan's spiritless behaviour lost him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed themselves. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this desertion, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Delhi, with great expedition. When he had reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Azim of Guzerat, had defeated and taken Alip, Suba of Mindu, and the country of Malava, and was then upon his march towards Jionpoor. Upon which he immediately retreated, to cover the capital of his dominions.

A. D. 1406.
Hig. 809.
Byram
defeated
by Lodi.

The emperor
besieged
in Firoseabad.

In the month of Rigib, 810, Dowlat Lodi and Byram came to battle near Sammana. Byram was defeated, and surrendered himself to Dowlat; but before the latter had enjoyed any fruits of his victory, he was himself beat back to Delhi, by Chizer. Mahmood, in the following year, marched against Keiwan, who, upon the part of Chizer, commanded the fort of Firofa. The emperor, after levying contributions, returned; and Chizer, upon the advice of these transactions, marched against Delhi, and besieged Mahmood, who was neither a warrior nor a politician, in that part of the city which is distinguished by the name of the city of Firose. But fortune, for this time, supplied the want of abilities in Mahmood, for Chizer being in want of forage and grain, was obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Fattipoor.

Chizer,

Chizer, in the beginning of the year 814, returned by the way of Rhotuc, a country then in the possession of Sultan Mahmood, where Ecteriz and Mubariz, the governors of that country, declining hostilities, submitted to his pleasure. He plundered the town of Narnoul, and again advanced to Delhi; Mahmood shut himself up in the old citadel of Seri, which Chizer immediately besieged. Achitiar, who commanded in Firoseabad, seeing the affairs of Mahmood in a desperate situation, joined himself to Chizer, and admitted him into the place. They then, with all their troops, took possession of the country on the opposite side of the river, and prevented all supplies from Mahmood.

But that famine which they designed for the Emperor and his adherents, recoiled upon themselves; for a great drought had occasioned a scarcity of provisions between the rivers, and in the neighbourhood of Delhi; insomuch that Chizer was, a second time, forced to raise the siege, and retire to Fatipoor. Mahmood being delivered from this imminent danger, took no pains to strengthen himself against a future attack. He took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Keitul, where he was seized with a fever, and died in the month of Zecada; and with him the empire of Delhi fell from the race of the Turks, who were adopted slaves of the Emperor Mohammed Ghori, the second of that race of the princes of India, distinguished by the name of the dynasty of Ghori.

The disastrous, interrupted, and inglorious reign of the weak Mahmood, lasted twenty years and two months. He was just as unfit for the age in which he lived, as he was unworthy of better times. God was angry with the people of Hindostan, and he gave them Mahmood, whose only virtue was, that his folly made him insensible.

A, D¹ 1413.
Hig 816

Chizer be-
sieves
Mahmood
in Delhi

But returns

Mahmood
dies

His charac-
ter

A. D. 1113. ble, in a great measure, to those strokes of fortune, which abilities much greater than his could not, perhaps, avert. The omrahs, soon after his death, elected, in his stead, Dowlat Lodi, a Patan by nation, and originally a private secretary, who, after passing through various employs, was raised by Mahmood to the dignity of Aziz Mumalick*.

Dowlat
Lodi
elected
Emperor.

Destitute of every pretension to the throne, by succession, Dowlat Lodi could not long be supported upon it, by the few chiefs, who owned allegiance to the court of Delhi. He was, however, seated upon the imperial Musnud, in the month of Mohirim of the 816 year of the Higerah. He began his reign, by striking the currency in his own name, which is commonly the first act of kings. Two chiefs of power and reputation, Malleck Ecteriz and Mubariz, who had been in the interest of Chizer, abandoned that omrah and joined Lodi. A few days after his accession, he marched towards Kittar, and was met by Rai Narfingh, and other zemindars of those districts, who acknowledged his title. Arriving at the town of Battiali, Mohabut, governor of Budaoon, came to meet him.

Advices, in the mean time, arrived, that Ibrahim, who styled himself Emperor of the eastern provinces, was besieging Kadir the son of Mahmood, in Calpee; but as Lodi had not forces enough to march to his relief, he returned to Delhi to recruit his army. Chizer, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced, in the month of Zihidge, with sixty thousand horse, and a third time invested the citadel of Seri, whither Dowlat Lodi had retired. After a siege of four months, he obliged Lodi, upon the 15th of the first Ribbi, in the year 817, to sur-

Is taken and
deposed by
Chizer.

* An officer something similar to our Secretary of state.

render himself and the citadel. The emperor was confined in the fort of Firofa, where he died soon, after a nominal reign of one year and three months. A D 1413
Hig 816

Disturbances in Persia, and his ardent desire of extending his conquests to the extremities of Asia, on the north and west, prevented Timur from retaining the conquests he had made in India. The inferiority of the troops of the Patan empire to the Moguls convinced him, that he could, at any time, reduce India; and he was therefore unwilling to leave any part of his veteran army to secure the provinces he had seized. Timur, after his return from Hindostan, settled the affairs of Persia, reduced Syria, Egypt, and the lesser Asia; and, in the 805 of the Higera, defeated Bajazet, the Turkish Emperor, in a great battle in the plains of Galatia. When he was meditating the conquest of China, he died on his march into that country, in the 808 year of the Higera, and the 1405 of the Christian æra. His son Sharoch succeeded Timur, in his vast empire, and was on the throne at the death of Dowlat Lodi. State of
Asia

11

C H I Z E R.

A D. 1414.
Hig. 817.
Chizer suc-
ceeds.

His family.

THE most accurate historians of those times affirm, that Chizer was of the race of the Prophet, and consequently, what the Islamites call a Seid. His father, Soliman, being a person of some distinction, became the adopted son of Dowlat, a great omrah, and governor of the province of Moultan in the reign of Feroze. Dowlat was, upon his death, succeeded in his government by his own son Malleck Sheeh; and he soon dying, Soliman was appointed to that viceroyship, which descended to Chizer from his father. Chizer being defeated, as we have already observed, by Saring, and driven from his country, he waited upon Timur, after the conquest of Delhi, and, having gained his favor, was by him reinstated in his former government, with the addition of all the countries watered by the five rivers, commonly called Punjaab and Dibalpoor. This accession of strength enabled him to pave afterwards his way to the empire.

Chizer, upon his accession, conferred honours upon Melleck Joppa, and made him Vizier; and raised to dignities Rahim, the adopted son of his father Soliman, with the government of Fattipoor and Moultan. He thus distributed favors, governments, and dignities among his other omrahs, but would not assume the imperial titles to himself, holding forth, that he held the empire for Timur: and ordered the coin to be struck in his name. The Chutba, during the life of Ti-

mur

Does not
assume the
name of
Emperor.
Pretends
to hold of
Timur.

mur, was read in that conqueror's name in the mosques; and after Timur had travelled the way of mortality, in that of the Emperor Sharoch his son, mentioning the name of Chizer after him. He even sent sometimes a tribute to Samarcand. This was, probably, good policy in Chizer, as he could govern his fellow omrahs, with less envy, in the name of the Tartar Prince, than if he was to assume the name of King himself, to which he had not the least shadow of pretence.

In the first year of his government he sent Joppa, with an army, towards Kittar, which he subdued, and drove Rai Narfingh to the mountains; but upon paying a tribute Rai Narfingh was again put in possession of his country. Mohahut, Suba of Badoon, at the same time came to meet Malleck, and promised allegiance; and from thence the vizier marched towards Koer, Kumbul, and Chidewar, and levied the revenues which were due for some years before. After recovering Jel-lasar out of the hands of the Rajaputs of Chund-war, he marched to Atava, which he brought under subjection, by changing the administration; and after these exploits returned to Delhi.

In the month of the first Jemmad of this year, a tribe of Turks, who were of the adherents of Byram, assassinating Malleck, governor of Sirhind, took possession of his country. Chizer sent Zirick, with a powerful army, against them; and, upon his approach, the Turks crossed the Suttuluz, and retreated to the hills. Zirick pursued them thither; but those mountains being a continuation of those of Nagracot, which were then possessed by powerful zemindars, who assisted the Turks, he could effect nothing material against them; and, in the end, he was obliged to retreat.

Intelligence was, in the year 819, received at Delhi, that Ahmud, who styled himself king of Guzerat, had

A D 1414
Hig 817.

Sibdues
Kittar

The Turks
expelled
from Sut-
tuluz

and

Chizer's
expedition
against Ah-

A.D. 1414.
Hig. 817. Guzerat, had advanced to Nagore. Chizer mustering all his forces, marched against him, but Ahmud declining battle, turned off towards Malava. When Chizer had reached Hanir, Elias, governor of that beautiful city, which had been built by the Emperor Alla, came out to meet him, and was honorably received. The Emperor proceeded from thence to Gualier, where he levied the tribute upon the raja, and then continued his march to Biana, taking tribute from Kerim, the lord of that country. He after these transactions returned to Delhi.

Turks again
expelled
from Sir-
hind.

In the year 820, Tân, chief of those Turks who had assassinated Malleck, lay at the head of a great army before Sirhind. Zirick, governor of Sammana, was immediately dispatched by Chizer, with a strong force, against the Turk who besieged Sirhind, and he was once more driven back to his hills; and a seasonable relief was accomplished for the empire. Zirick having, in pursuit of the enemy, reached the village of Pacl, Tân consented to pay tribute, and gave him his son as a hostage, expelling the murderers of Malleck. Upon this pacification he was left in possession of Jallender, and Zirick returned to Sammana, sending the hostage and contributions which he had raised, to the royal presence.

Chizer in-
vades Kit-
tar.

The Emperor, in the year 821, sent his minister against Raja Nar Singh. The vizier, without ending the war, plundered and laid waste the province of Kittar, and returned to Budaoon. Crossing then the river, he came to Atava, where he raised contributions, and from thence returned to Delhi. Chizer went, in person, against the rebels of Kittar, and, upon his march, chastised the banditti of Schole. He crossed the Rahib, laid waste the country of Simbol and Kittar, and, without coming to battle, returned to his capital.

He

He continued at Delhi a few days, and then moved towards Budaoon, crossing the Ganges at Pattali. Mahabut being alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in Budabon, where the king besieged him for six months. In the course of the siege, Cawam, Achiar Lodi, and all the old friends of the Emperor Mahmood, formed a conspiracy against the life of Chizer. The Sultan discovering the plot, decamped from before Budaoon, and returned towards Delhi. He, on his way, prepared an entertainment, upon the 20th of the first Jemnad in 822, to which all the conspirators were invited, and the guards setting suddenly upon them, they were to a man assassinated.

A D 1419.
Hij. 822.

Discovers a
plot against
his life

After the Sultan returned to Delhi, he was informed that an impostor had appeared at Matchewarrah, under the name of Saring Chan, and had, by that means, collected a great body of people together. The king ordered Maleck Lodi, who, with the title of Islam Chan, was, at that time, governor of Sirhind, against him. The impostor was defeated, driven to the hills, and pursued by the joint forces of Tàn, governor of Jallender, of Zirick, governor of Sammana, and of Maleck, governor of the country between the rivers. The impostor's army deserted him, each man skulking as best he could, and privately retiring to his abode. The imperial forces having no further service to do, separated, and returned to their respective stations. But, in the year following, Saring, the impostor, issued again from his hills, and having made an alliance with Tàn, governor of Jallender, they invested the fort of Sirhind, and ravaged the country as far as Munfurepoor and Pael. The king sent a great army against them, who, giving them a total defeat, drove them out of the kingdom.

An impostor
appears at Matchewarrah

A. D. 1419.
Hig. 822.
Chizer's
expedition
to Mewat.

In the year 824, Chizer marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotillah. The vizier dying at that time, the vizarit was conferred upon his son. The Sultan turned from thence towards Gualier, where he raised contributions, and then hastened to Attava, levying tribute on the son of Rai Sibber, who then possessed that country. Falling sick during his progress, he returned to Delhi, where he died on the 17th of the first Jemmad of this year. He reigned seven years, and a few months; and his death was greatly lamented by the people, being esteemed a just, generous, and benevolent prince, for that age.

Dies.

State of
Asia,

Sharoch, the son of Timur, sat on the Mogul throne, and ruled the vast empire conquered by his father, with great ability, justice and moderation.

MUBARICK II.

WHEN the Emperor Chizer had, by the ^{A D 1421} violence of his disorder, lost all hopes of ^{Hig 824.} recovery, he, three days before he expired, appointed his eldest son to succeed him in the empire. Accordingly, two days after the Sultan's death, Mubarick* ascended the throne, by the title of ^{Mubarick} the Supporter of Religion and father of the vic- ^{ascends the} torious throne. The new emperor made the usual appointments, raising Maleck Buddir, his cousin, to high honours; and Maleck Rigib, to the government of Dibalpoor and Punjaab.

In the month of the first Jemnad, he received ^{Jisserit} advices, that Jisserit, the brother of Sheca the ^{invades the} Gicker, who had, the preceding year, defeated and taken Ali king of Cashmire, upon his return from an expedition against Tatta, presuming upon his own power and valour, had taken a resolution to attempt the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, invited into his service the famous Tân, who had fled to the mountains, and appointed him captain general of his forces. He soon over-run the countries of Punjaab and Lahore, seized upon Zirick, governor of Jallender, by perfidious means, after which he took the place; and immediately thereafter besieged Illam, the imperial governor of Sirhind.

The emperor Mubarick, though the solstitial ^{The emperor} rains were then in their height, marched from ^{or marches} against him

* His titles were Moaz ul dien, Abul Fatte, Saltan Mubarick Shâh.

A. D. 1421. Delhi, and upon his approach to Sirhind, Jifferit
 Hig. 825. raised the siege, and retreated to Ludhana. Zirik, at that place, found means to escape from him, and join Mubarick. The emperor advanced towards Ludhana and Jifferit, crossing the Suttuluz, encamped on the opposite bank; having first possessed himself of all the boats upon the river, which circumstance obliged Mubarick to halt, till the water should fall at Kabulpoor, Jifferit, in the mean time, being determined to oppose his passage. Upon the 11th of Shuwal, Secunder the Vizier, Zirik, Mahmood Hassen, Maleck Callu, and other omrahs, according to the emperor's order, made a forced march, and forded the river, the king himself following them close to support them with the body of the army. Jifferit, by this means, was thrown into confusion, and turned his face to flight. The Sultan kept close to his heels, slew, in the pursuit, a great many of the enemy, and took all their baggage.

Mubarick
 rebuilds
 Lahore,
 and returns
 to Delhi.

Jifferit, after this defeat, took refuge in the mountains, in a very distressed condition. But Rai Bimé of Jimmu, having directed the king's army to Bile, a strong fort into which Jifferit had thrown himself, he fled to another place, but was pursued with great slaughter, and Mubarick, in the Mohirim of 825, directed his march to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and, appointing Hassen governor, returned to Delhi.

Jifferit be-
 sieges La-
 hore with-
 out success.

Jifferit, collecting his scattered forces, took the field again, and invested Lahore for five months, without success. He then raised the siege, retired to Callanore, and fell upon Rai Bimé, for having given assistance to the king; but the action, which ensued between them, being undecisive, Jifferit went to the banks of the Bea, and began to recruit his army. In the mean time, Malleck

Secunder

Secunder the vizier, who had been sent to succour Lahore, joined by Malleck Rígib, governor of Debalpoor, and by Islam, governor of Sirhind, advanced towards Jifferit, and obliged him to cross the Ravi and Chinaab, and to take shelter among the hills. The vizier marched along the Ravi to Callanore; and, upon the frontiers of Jimmu, Ria Biné joined him, and leading the imperial troops through the hills, where the Gickers were concealed, some thousands of that unhappy people were put to the sword, and the vizier returned to Lahore.

A D 1421
Hig. 825

*Is obliged to
take shelter
in the
mountains

These successes prevailed upon the king to appoint the vizier vice-roy of Lahore, and to recal Hassan. But, in the year eight hundred and twenty six, the Sultan deprived him of the vizarít, and conferred it upon Surur ul Muluck, whom he dispatched against the Hindoos of Kittar. The emperor himself followed that general with a greater army. The inhabitants of Kittar were subdued, and a great tribute exacted from them. Mubarick having settled affairs with Mahabut, governor of Budaoon, commanded him to march against the tribe of Toor, whom that general plundered, and took prisoners to a man. The Raja of Attava having, at this time, withdrawn himself from the royal camp, Mubarick pursued him to that place, and besieged him there. But terms of peace were settled between them, and the Raja's son given as a hostage for his father's future good behaviour. The King, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

Mubarick
invades
Kittar.

Hassen was, about this time, appointed paymaster and commander in chief of the troops. Jifferit, unconquered by his misfortunes, raised again his head, and, having defeated and slain Rai Bime, by a fresh acquisition of reputation and wealth, raised an army of Gickers, with which he again attempted the conquest of Delhi. Having ravaged

A. D. 1423
Hig. 827. gced the countries of Lahore and Debalpoor, he collected together very considerable plunder, but when Secunder, the late vizier, advanced against him, he did not chuse to risque a battle, and therefore retired, with his spoils, to the hills, where he busied himself in recruiting his army for another attempt.

In the mean time, Jifferit made an alliance with Amir Ali, a Mogul Omrah, a subject of the emperor Sharoch, the son of the great Timur, who resided at Cabul. He persuaded Amir Ali to make an incursion into the territories of Seistan, Bicker, and Tatta, to draw off the King's attention from Delhi, and so to facilitate his own schemes. Alla, governor of Moultan, dying about this time, and the news of Amir Ali's incursion being noised abroad, the King, without delay, sent Hassen, with the army, towards Moultan. The raja of Malava had, in the same year, invested Gualier, which obliged the emperor Mubarick to raise all the forces of those provinces, and to march against him; levying, on his way, contributions upon Amir, prince of Biana.

Defeated by
Mubarick.

Sues for
peace.

The raja of Atava, upon the approach of Mubarick, crossed the Chumbul, and sat down on the opposite bank. Mubarick having, in the main time, found another ford, crossed the river with great expedition, attacked him in his camp, took many prisoners, and a part of the enemy's baggage. The prisoners being found to be Mahommedans, were dismissed by the king. The raja thought it then adviseable to compound all differences, by paying down a sum of money to the Sultan; upon which he was permitted to withdraw towards Dhar. Mubarick having tarried for some time in that place, to levy contributions upon the neighbouring Zemindars, returned, in the month of Rigib, eight hundred and twenty seven, to Delhi.

The

The Sultan, next year, made a motion towards A D 1423. Hig 827. Kittar, where the Indian prince Narasingh came to the banks of the Ganges, to pay his respects to him but as he did not pay the revenues of his territory, for three years' back, he was confined for a few days, till his accounts were settled, and then he was released. The Sultan crossed the river, chastised some riotous Zemindars, and returned to Delhi. He did not remain there many days, before he drew his army towards Mewat, from whence he drove the rebels to the hills, and ravaging their country returned to Delhi; and permitting his omrahs to retire to their jagiers, he gave himself up to pleasure and festivity. Mubarick reduces Mewat and dismisses his army

But the inhabitants of Mewat, rendered more Disturbances in Mewat desperate and distressed by the king's bad policy, inruining their country, were obliged to prey upon their neighbours, and to infest all the adjacent countries. This circumstance obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and twenty nine, to collect again an army to subdue them. Upon his approach, Jillu and Kiddu, the grandsons of Badhader Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, where they defended the passes with great bravery. Being, at length, reduced to great distress, they surrendered themselves, were imprisoned, their country was again ravaged, and the Sultan returned to Delhi.

But the distresses of the people of Mewat did not render them peaceable subjects. The king, Mewat again reduced after a recess of four months only, was again obliged to turn his arms against them, and to carry fire and sword through their whole country. He proceeded as far as Biana, where, after the death of Amir, his brother Mahommed shut himself up in the city, which he held out against Mubarick sixteen days; but, upon the desertion of the greatest part of the garrison, he surrendered at discretion, and was, with a rope about his neck, brought into the presence

A.D. 1423.
Hig. 827.

presence. The Sultan delivered the city to the care of Mackbul, and sent Mahommed and his family to Delhi. To Malleck Tophā he gave in charge the town of Sikri, known now by the name of Fattipoor, marched to Gualier, raised contributions there, and returned to Delhi. He removed, at that time, Hassen from the government of Moultan to that of Firofā, bestowing the former upon Malleck Rigib.

Mah m-
med ef-
capes and
raises dis-
turbances.

During these transactions Mahommed found means to escape with his family, to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, took the city of Biana, in the absence of Mackbul, on an expedition to Mahaban. The Sultan dispatched Mubariz, whom he appointed to that government, to drive Mahommed from thence. Mahommed retired into the fort, when Mubariz took possession of the country. After a few days siege he left the defence of the place to some trusty friends, and issuing out himself, escaped to Ibrahim, king of the East, who was advancing with an army against Calpee.

Flies to Sul-
tan Ibra-
him.

Kadir Shaw, governor of Calpee, upon this occasion sent expresses to Delhi, for succours. Mubarick hastened to his relief, and having reached Aterawli, detached Hassen, with ten thousand horse, against Muchtis Chan, the brother of Ibrahim, who was in motion with a considerable force to reduce Attava. This detachment, however, encountering Muchtis, drove him back to his brother, and Hassen returned to the army. Ibrahim advanced along the banks of the Black River to Burhanabad, from thence to the village of Raberi, and so on to the banks of Kinhire, where he encamped. Mubarick, in the mean time, crossing the Jumna, near Chundwar, encamped within ten miles of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of twenty two days, during which time, slight skirmishes daily happened between them. Ibrahim, however, upon the seventh of the second Jemmad, marched out of his camp,

camp, and offered battle to the king. Mubarick, though he declined to rescue his own person, ordered out his army to oppose Ibrahim, under the command of his vizier, Said ul Sadit, and Scid Sallam. A. D. 1427. Hig. 831 Ibrahim advances against Mubarick

The action commenced. with great fury, about noon; and night parted the combatants; both armies retreating to their respective camps. Ibrahim, however, marching off, in the morning, towards Jionpoor, while Mubarick, contenting himself with the advantage he had gained, returned towards Gualier, crossing the river at Hitgaut. Having received there the usual presents, he turned off towards Biana, into which Mahommed had again thrown himself, after the battle. He made a gallant defence, but was again obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he pleased. Hassan was left in the government of that province; and on the fifteenth of Shaban, eight hundred and thirty-one, Mubarick returned victorious and triumphant to Delhi. He there seized Malleck Mewati, who had joined himself to Ibrahim, and ordered him to be put to death. The armies engage. A drawn battle.

In the month of Zicada the Sultan received advices, that Jisserit had sat down before Callanore, after having defeated Secunder, the late vizier, who had marched against him, and driven him back to Lahore. Mubarick sent an order to Zick, governor of Samana, and Islam, who commanded at Sirhind, to join Secunder; but, before their arrival, he had marched towards Callanore, and defeated Jisserit in his turn; depriving him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province. Jisserit besieges Callanore, is defeated

Mubarick marched to Mewat, in the month of Mohirrim, eight hundred and thirty-two, and entirely subdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay a regular tribute. In the mean time advices arrived at Delhi, that Malleck Rigib was dead, upon which the king conferred the title of Ameid ul Muluck upon Hassan, who had settled the affairs. Mubarick subdues Mewat.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1429. of Biana, and set him governor to Moultan. The
 Hig. 633. Sultan, in the following year, proceeded to Gualier, which country he ravaged and carried off some thousands of the poor inhabitants into slavery. Turning then his forces towards Raberi, he wrested that country from the son of Hassen, gave it to Malleck Humza, and afterwards returned to Delhi. Seid Allum dying by the way, his eldest son had the title of Seid Chan conferred upon him, and the youngest that of Suja ul Muluck, together with all the wealth of their father, which was very great; though, according to the custom of Hindostan, it would become the property of the king.

These favours, however, did not secure the faith of the sons of Seid Allum, for they sent Fowlad, a Turkish slave, to Tibberhind, to stir up privately, in their name, an insurrection there. They had formed hopes, it is said, that they might be sent with a force to suppress the rebellion, and so have an opportunity to join the rebels. But the plot was discovered, and both imprisoned; while, in the mean time, Eufuph and Ibbu were sent to Tibberhind to confiscate their estates, and suppress the disturbance raised by Fowlad.

Fowlad entering into a negotiation, lulled into a negligent security the imperial generals, and falling one night from his fort, surprized their camp. He was, however, so warmly received by the king's troops, that he was soon driven back. This did not deter him from making another effort next night, at the same time making a great discharge of arillery from the works, which struck a panic into the imperial troops, who took immediately to their heels, leaving their camp standing, with all their baggage. Mubarick, upon receiving advice of that disaster, was constrained to march towards Tibberhind in person. The rebel daily gathered strength, and the king was obliged to call Ameid

ul-Muluck from Moultan, and several other go- ^{A D 1429.}
 vernors, to join him. Every thing for the expe- ^{Hig 833.}
 dition being prepared, Mubarick stopped at Sur-
 futti, and dispatched the greatest part of his army
 to invest the fort of Tibberhind. Fowlad sent a
 message to the imperial camp, importing that he
 had great confidence in Ameid ul Muluck, and
 said, that if he should be sent with promise of
 pardon, he himself would deliver up the place.
 The emperor accordingly sent Ameid to Tibber-
 hind, where Fowlad met him, a little without the
 gate. Having accordingly received assurances of
 pardon, he promised to give up the place the next
 day. But one of Ameid's attendants, who was of
 Fowlad's acquaintance, told him privately, that
 though Ameid was a man of strict honour, and
 would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the
 king might not be so tender of preserving his, and
 that it was very probable he might bring Fowlad
 to punishment. Fowlad, after the conference was
 over, revolved this intimation in his own mind,
 and repented seriously of his promise; and there-
 fore, as he had both money and provisions, he
 determined to hold out to the last.

The king seeing, that the taking of the place ^{Refi g^{rs} him}
 would be a work of time, and that there would
 be no occasion for so great an army to besiege it,
 he permitted Ameid ul Muluck to return with
 the forces of Moultan, and leaving Islam Lodi,
 Gummal, and Firose, to carry on the siege, he
 himself retired to Delhi. Fowlad, having held
 out six months, was greatly distressed, and
 saw no means of extricating himself, but by an
 alliance with Ali, governor of Cabul, on the
 part of Sharoch, the Mogul emperor. He
 sent, for this purpose, messengers to him, with
 large promises for his assistance. As Mubarick
 had taken no pains to keep upon good terms
 with the Mogul, the latter left Cabul, and,
 VOL. II. D being

A. D. 1459. being in his way joined by the Gickars, crossed
 Hig. 233. the Bea, and ravaged the country of those om-
 rahs who carried on the siege; and advancing to-
 wards Tibberhind, the imperial army decamped
 and fled. Fowlad, for this signal service, gave to
 Ali two lacks of rupees, and other presents, and
 having given to him all the charge of his fam-
 ily, exerted himself in repairing the fortificati-
 ons, and laying in provisions and ammunition.

Moguls re-
 venge the
 country;

Ali, crossing the Suttuluz, committed cruel de-
 predations upon the unhappy country, ac-
 quiring of plunder twenty times the value
 of the subsidy which he had received from
 Fowlad. Advancing then to Lahore, he raised
 the usual tribute from Secunder, then re-
 turned towards Dibalpoor, desolating the
 country wherever he went; insomuch that
 forty thousand Hindoos were computed to have
 been massacred, besides a great number carried
 away prisoners. Ameid ul Muluck posted himself
 to oppose Ali, at the town of Tilbanna, but he
 gave him the slip, and went to Chitpoor, when
 Ameid received the king's orders to retreat to
 save Moultaun. The flight of the imperial army
 encouraged the enemy to follow them beyond
 the Ravi, and to lay waste the country, to within
 ten crores of Moultaun. Ali defeated there Islam
 Lodi, who had been left to stop his progress.

From thence the Moguls advanced to Chei-
 rabad, within six miles of the city, and the
 next day, which was the fourth of Ramzan,
 they made an assault upon the place, but were bea-
 ten back. They continued, however, from their
 camp to make daily excursions towards the city,
 putting all whom they could meet to the sword.

The King being informed of these transactions,
 sent Fatte Chan and Mubarick, with other om-
 rahs of distinction, to succour Ameid; who, upon
 being joined by all these with their forces, went
 out, and offered battle to Ali. Ali did not decline
 it,

it, and a furious conflict ensued, in the beginning of which the Moguls gained some advantage. However, upon the death of Tatte Chan, A D 1450
H. 854 the gale of fortune changed, and blew with the standards of Hindostan. Ali, at one stroke, played away all his gains, escaping, with a few attendants only, to Cabul, his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Gelum, in their precipitate flight. are over-
thrown

Ameid, having pursued the runaways to Shinore, returned victorious to Moulton, and the omrahs, who had succoured him, repaired, by the king's orders, to Delhi; and soon after, Mubarick, jealous of the success of Ameid, called him also to court. Jisserit took advantage of his absence, crossed the Gelum, Ravi, and Bea, and fought Secunder, the late vizier, near Jilender, defeated and took him prisoner, with all his treasure, and baggage. He forthwith advanced and besieged Lahore. Jisserit in-
vades the
empire Ali, at the same time, at the instigation of Jisserit, made another incursion towards Moulton, and, having taken Tilbunna, by capitulation, he broke his word, plundered the place, massacred all the men able to bear arms, and carried their wives and children into captivity, laying the town in ruins. Besieges
Lahore

Fowlad, taking also advantage of these disturbances, marched out of Tibberhind, and invading the country, of Rai Firoze, defeated him. Mubarick, thought it now high time to march from Delhi. He, accordingly, upon the first of the first Jemmad, eight hundred and thirty-five, took the route of Lahore, appointing his vizier, governor of that place, and to command in the van of his army. The vizier arriving at Sammana, Jisserit raised the siege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills. Ali hastened back to Cabul, and Fowlad again shut himself up in Tibberhind. The Sultan, upon this, took the government of

A.D. 1452.
Hig. 856,

Lahore from the vizier, and gave it to Nuserit; then returning, encamped near Panniput, on the banks of the Jumna, sending Ameid ul Muluck with a part of the army to suppress some insurrections about Gualier, and the vizier to besiege Tibberhind; he himself returning to Delhi.

Mubarik
marches
against Jif-
serit.

In the month of Zihidge, Jisserit advanced again to Lahore, and commenced hostilities against Nuserit, which obliged the king, in the year eight hundred and thirty-six, to march from Delhi as far as Sammana. Intelligence was brought to him in that place of the death of his mother, Muchduma Jehan, and he immediately returned, with a few attendants; and, after performing the funeral obsequies, went back to his army. After his arrival in the camp, he suddenly changed his resolution, and turned back towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Malleck Lodi, who promised to expel Jisserit. But Jisserit, upon hearing of the king's return, was joined by a great body of Gickers, who imagined that his affairs bore a better aspect, so that he was in a condition to receive Lodi, whom he defeated.

Ali takes
Lahore.

The king having received the news of this overthrow, and also that Ali, governor of Cabul, was coming towards Tibberhind, took again the rout of Punjaab, sending before him Ameid ul Muluck to reinforce the omrahs who were besieging Tibberhind. Upon his approach, Ali, who stood in awe of him, laid aside his intentions of coming to Tibberhind, and turned away, by forced marches, towards Lahore, which he surprised, and began a horrid scene of massacre and depredation. But hearing that the king had reached Tilbundi, Ali left a garrison of two thousand men in the place, and retreated towards Cabul, ravaging the country in his way, and leaving his

his nephew, Muziffer, in the fort of Shinnore. A. D 1432
Hig 836

The king a second time raised Secunder, who had ransomed himself, to the government of Lahore, Dibalpoor, and Jilender, upon which he advanced and laid siege to the city. He took it by capitulation, and permitted the garrison to retire to Cabul. He immediately crossed the Ravi, near Tilbundi, and invested Shinnore. Muziffer held up in that place the standard of opposition for a whole month, but being hard pressed, he capitulated, by giving his daughter to the king, and paying a great ransom for his liberty. Retaken
Shinnore capitulates Mubarick left a great part of his army at Dibalpoor, and, with a select body, marched himself to Moultan to visit the tombs of the saints, from whence he returned in a few days to his camp. He, at this time, divested Secunder of his government of Lahore, gave it to Ameid ul Muluck, and returned with great expedition to Delhi. Being jealous of the power of the vizier, he joined Kammal with him in the vizarit; and, the latter being esteemed a man of superior abilities, he soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the people.

The vizier, upon this, became dissatisfied, and began to project treason. Having gained over Sidarin and Sidpal, two great Hindoo chiefs of the tribe of Kittric, Miran Sidder, deputy to the chief secretary Sammud, lord of the private chambers, and others, they watched an opportunity to assassinate the king. About this time, Mubarick had ordered a city to be founded upon the banks of the Jumna, calling it the city of Mubarick, and made an excursion towards Tibberhind, as it were to take the diversion of hunting. Having, on the way, received advices that Tibberhind was taken, and being presented with the head of Fowhd, he returned to the new city. He there received intelligence that war was carrying

A conspiracy formed against the Sultan

A. D. 1433. ing on between Ibrahim, king of the Eastern pro-
 Hig. 837. vinces, and Hoshung of Malavi, near Calpie, which was a very agreeable piece of news to him, as he sought an opportunity to expel Ibrahim from his dominions. He therefore gave orders to muster his army, and pitching his tent without the city, delayed a few days in regulating and collecting his forces, during which time he continued to visit the new works without fear of danger, having never given offence to his nobility, except in changing or turning them out of their governments when they misbehaved.

He is assassinated.

Upon the ninth of the month of Rigib, in the year eight hundred and thirty-seven, according to his custom, he went to worship at a new mosque which he had built in the new city, with only a few attendants. The conspirators rushed in, in armour, with drawn swords upon him, and basely assassinated him. The vizier having previously settled matters with Mahommed, one of the grandsons of the emperor Chizer, raised that prince to the throne.

His character.

Mubarick reigned thirteen years, three months, and sixteen days. He was esteemed a man of parts, just and benevolent, and, though no great warrior, had he lived in a virtuous age, there is no doubt but he possessed talents which might render him worthy of a throne.

State of Asia.

Little alteration happened in the north of Asia, during the reign of Mubarick. Sharoch sat on the throne of the Moguls, and seemed more inclined to rule his dominions with justice and equity, than to extend their limits towards India.

M A H O M M E D V.

ACCORDING to the custom of the world, A D 1435
Hig 83. which cannot subsist without rule, the same day that Mubarick was sent to eternity, Mahommed * was established upon the throne. Mahommed mounted the throne The ungrateful assassin, the vizier, received the title of lord of the world, and seized upon the king's treasure, regalia, and other effects, discharging all the old omrahs from office, and appointing new ones, who might, in time, serve his ambitious views.

Kummal, the deputy vizier, and other omrahs, The omrahs disguise their discontent. who were in the camp, having consulted among themselves, upon hearing of the king's death, resolved, rather than kindle a civil war in the country, to bear with the times, to pay allegiance to the new king, and to wait a more proper and more certain opportunity of taking revenge upon the conspirators. They came into the city and paid their compliments to Mahommed. The vizier's tyranny The first preferments, which the vizier gave away to facilitate his future schemes, was to appoint the two Hindoo conspirators to the governments of Biana, Amrohi, Narnoul, and Coram; and Miran Sidder, dignified with a title, was presented with a very considerable jagier. The son of Seid Salem was dignified with the title of Chan Azim,

* His titles at length are, Sultan Mahommed Shaw, the son of Ferid, the son of the emperor Chizer.

A. D. 1433. and the governments of several countries were con-
 Hig. 837. ferred upon him. But the omrahs, and dependants of Mubarick, were, by tricks and false accusations, killed, imprisoned, banished, robbed, or turned out of office.

The om-
 rahs rise in
 arms.

A slave of the vizier, whose name was Rana, was sent collector of the revenues to Biana, but Eufoph Lodi fought and slew him near that place. At the same time, some of the omrahs of the emperors Mubarick and Chizer, who saw that there was a design on foot to deprive them of their jagiers, particularly Chimun, governor of Budaoon, Malleck Lodi, who commanded at Simbol, Ali of Guzerat, and Amir, the Turk, erected the spear of rebellion, upon which the vizier, deceived by the behaviour of his deputy Kummal, gave him the command of the army, and sent Sidarin, and his own son Eufoph, along with him, to suppress the rebels. But when they came to the village of Birren, Kummal intended to take revenge on Sidarin and Eufoph, for the murder of the king. He therefore acquainted Malleck Lodi of his resolutions, who, for that reason, made no motion towards them. This design being, however, discovered to the vizier, he sent Hoshiar, his own slave, with a great army, under pretence of succours, with private instructions to prevent the effects of the plot. Kummal had, at Ahare, joined his forces with Malleck Lodi, before the reinforcement, under the vizier's slave, arrived. Hoshiar, hearing of this junction, thought that there was no safety for him, and he, therefore fled, with Eufoph and Sidarin, to Delhi. Kummal immediately sent to call the disaffected omrahs, who joined him without delay, so that, upon the last of Ramzan, he moved, with a great army, towards Delhi.

The

The vizier shut himself up in the citadel of A. D. 1433
 Seri, which he held out three months; but as the Hig. 837-
 party of Kummal daily gained strength, and re- The vizier
 putation, he was driven to great distress. The b sieged in
 the citadel.
 The king, perceiving that his own affairs would be
 ruined, if he should adhere to the vizier, endea-
 voured to conciliate matters with the besiegers,
 and, at the same time, sought an opportunity of
 making his escape, or cutting off the vizier. The
 vizier discovering this plot, designed to be before-
 hand with the king; accordingly, upon the eighth
 of Mohirrim, with the sons of Miran Sidder, and
 with some of his own adherents, he broke into
 the king's apartment. But the emperor, having His coun-
 suspected him of such intentions, had privately a ter plot.
 guard at hand, who, on a signal given, rushed
 upon the conspirators. They immediately betook
 themselves to flight; but the vizier was cut to Is slain.
 pieces, as he was rushing out at the door, and
 thus met the fate he designed for his lord. The
 sons of Miran Sidder, and the rest of the assas-
 sins, were taken, and put to death, while Hoshiar
 and one Mubarick, who were parties concerned,
 were publicly executed. The Kittries, and
 other adherents of the vizier, afraid for them-
 selves, rose up in arms. The king was obliged
 to shut himself up, ordering the Bagdat-gate to
 be thrown open to the besiegers, who, rush-
 ing in accordingly, began a dreadful massacre
 among the rebels, till they entirely subdued
 them. Such as remained alive were bound and
 put to death at the tomb of the emperor Mu-
 barick.

Kummal, and the other omrahs, swore allegi- The om-
 ance the next day, for the second time, to Ma- rans swear
 hommed; the vizarit was conferred on Kummal, al egi-
 and Chimun was dignified with the title of Ghazi to Mahom-
 Malleck, with a jagier. The other omrahs were med.
 confirmed

A. D. 1434; confirmed in their former offices, governments, and estates. When matters were completely settled at Delhi, the king, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Moultan, and encamping near the city of Mubarick, gave orders to draw together his army from all the provinces. Many of the chiefs, being intimidated, delayed to repair to the imperial standard till Ameid ul Muluck arrived from Moultan, adding power to enforce the royal commands, by a numerous army, which he brought with him. All the other provincial omrahs hastened to the camp, and were honoured with dresses, and other marks of favour and distinction. The king moved towards Moultan, to make a parade with his army, and, having visited the tombs of the saints, returned to his capital.

and to Sam-
mana.

In the year eight hundred and forty, he marched towards Sammana; and detached a part of his army against Jisserit, the Gicker, who was raising disturbances. The country of Jisserit was plundered, and the king returned to Delhi, where he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, neglecting all the cares and necessary affairs of government. The accounts of the king's luxurious indolence soon affected the state. Dissatisfaction began to appear first in Moultan, where a tribe of Patans, called Linga, rose in rebellion. At the same time, Beloli Lodi, who, after the death of his uncle, Islam, became governor of Sirhind, without any orders, possessed himself of the city and districts of Lahore and Debalpoor, with all the country back to Panniput.

Beloli de-
feats the
imperial
army.

The Sultan receiving intelligence of this revolt, sent his whole army against him, who drove him back to the hills. In the retreat many chiefs of distinction were put to the sword; but Beloli recruited his army, and, when the imperial forces

were

were withdrawn, he again possessed himself of all the countries from which they had driven him. A D. 1438
Hig 842 Mahommed, this time, sent Hissam Chan, the vizier's deputy, against him, who was defeated, and beat back to Delhi; upon which, Beloli wrote to the king,† that if he would put Hissam to death, who, by his intrigues, had been the occasion of this rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The king was weak enough to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam. He also deprived Cummal of the vizarit, and conferred it upon Hamid, appointing another person deputy, with the title of Hissam Chan. The governors of the provinces observing this pusillanimous and impolitic behaviour of the king, predicted his destruction, and endeavoured to secure their own independency; while the subjects and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that must happen in the state, withheld their rents, in hopes that they might be passed over, in the general confusion. The Sultan's concessions to the rebels,
al enat- the minds of his subjects
Confusions in the empire

Ibrahim, sovereign of the eastern provinces, possessed himself of several districts adjoining to his dominions; and Mahmood Chilligi, king of Malava, made an attempt on the capital; and, in the year eight hundred and forty-four, advanced within two crores of the city. Mahommed, struck with terror in this urgent situation of affairs, imprudently sent an embassy to Beloli, to beg his assistance. Beloli accordingly, with twenty thousand Persian horse, came to Delhi; Mahommed, though his army was greatly superior to the enemy, was afraid to take the field by himself, but committed the charge of the whole A D 1440
Hig 844
The emperor's and cowardly behaviour of the king

† He was descended of the emperor Feroze I of the tribe of Chilligi, emperors of Delhi.

A. D. 1446. to his omrahs, and reposed himself in the haram.
 Hig. 85c. The omrahs, according to orders, advanced with the army against the enemy, Beloli leading the van.

A drawn battle. When Mahmood Chilligi was given to understand, that the king of Delhi was not present, he thought it was meant as an affront to him; and, to be on a footing with Mahommed, he committed the charge of his army to his sons Yeaz ul Dien and Kuddir Chan. The two armies having engaged, the troops of Delhi gave way, and left Beloli alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with invincible resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their behaviour, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory was left undecided. Mahmood Chilligi being greatly frightened by a dream that night, and having heard, in the morning, that sultan Ahmed, of Guzerat, was advanced as far as Mundo, he was more and more intimidated, and began to be desirous of making peace: but shame prevented him from expressing his wishes. At the same time, Mahommed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of all his counsellors, gave himself up to base fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival to beg peace.

A peace concluded.

Mahmood Chilligi defeated by Beloli, Mahmood Chilligi was overjoyed at these proposals, which saved the appearance of his reputation, and immediately accepting them, marched from the field. Beloli, who now began justly to despise them both, and to aspire to the empire, marched out of the city with his own troops, and pursuing Mahmood Chilligi, attacked him upon his march, defeated him, and took all his baggage. The weak Sultan, who did not hitherto see through his palpable intentions, gave him the title of first of the nobles*, and adopted him for his son.

who is adopted by the Sultan.

In the year eight hundred and forty-five, the emperor marched to Sammaha, giving the governments of Lahore and Debalpoor to Beloli, and ordering him to expel Jisserit. He himself returned to his capital. Beloli, by this means, became extremely powerful, and recruited a great army of Afghans; but, instead of fighting Jisserit, he brought him over to his party, and began to seize upon several districts, without any orders from the king. At length, without any apparent reason, but his ambition, he drew his army against Delhi, which he besieged for some months, but, in the end, was obliged to abandon his enterprise.

A. D. 1446
Hug. 850.
Hemarches
against
Delhi.

The king's power was greatly weakened, and began to decay very rapidly. The zemindars of Biana put themselves under the government of Mahmood Chilligi. In the mean time, Mahomed fell sick and died, in the year eight hundred and forty-nine, leaving behind him the character of a weak, dissolute, and unwarlike prince; owing to the ambition of others a throne, upon which he could not sit with dignity himself. He reigned twelve years and some months, and his son Alla succeeded him in the empire.

The king's
power de-
clines,

He dies.
His charac-
ter.

Sharooh, emperor of the Moguls, dying this year, the conquests of Timur were divided among his grand-children, the sons of the prince Basinkar. The eldest son of Sharooh, the famous Ulug-Bec, enjoyed the imperial titles, but his power was confined to the western Tartary, or Transoxiana. The eldest son of Basinkar possessed himself of the extensive province of Chorassan, and the countries towards the Indus; Abul Kasem, the third son, reigned over Mazinderan and Georgia, and Mahommed the second son of Basinkar, became sovereign of all the western Persia. The empire of Delhi, though it was

State of
Afghanistan.

A. D. 1446. was in some measure restored by Chizer and
Hig. 850. Mubarick, was far from being as extensive, as
it was before the invasion of Timur. Mahom-
medan princes possessed the south east provinces,
and a kind of empire was long established
in the Decan, independent of the crown of
Delhi.

A L L A H.

ALLA*, the son of Mahommed, mounted A D 1447.
Hig 851
Allamounts the throne the throne upon the demise of his father. All the omrahs, excepting Beloii Lodi, came and swore allegiance to him. His contempt of Beloii, the new Sultan was in no condition to chastise. But having collected an army, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty, he marched to recover Biana. When he was upon the way, there was a rumour propagated, that the king of the East was advancing towards Delhi, which, though false, hrought back the emperor to his capital; though he was told by Hissam, the vizier, how ridiculous it would appear in a king to be guided by a vague report. This reprimand brought upon the vizier Alla's displeasure.

This step, however, proved ruinous to the Losses & is reputation. Sultan's reputation, and the meanest of the people feared not to say publicly, that he was a weaker man, and a greater fool, than his father. His luxury. He marched in the following year to Budaoon, where he remained some time, laying out gardens, building pleasure-houses, and making entertainments, and then returned to Delhi. Pretending that the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination of making that city his residence, to divert him from which, the vizier took much pains, but only incurred more and more of his displeasure.

* His titles were, Sultan Alla ul Dien Ben Mahommed Shaw.

A. D. 1447, All Hindostan was, at this time, divided into
 Hig. 8513 separate states; for in the Decan, Guzerat, Ma-
 The state of Hindostan. lava, Jionpoor, and Bengal, there were princes
 Decayed condition of the empire. who assumed the stile and dignity of kings; while
 Punjaab, Debalpoor, and Sirhind, even to Panniput, was possessed by Beloli. Merowli, and all the country to the Serai of Lado, within fourteen miles of Delhi, were in the hands of Ahmed of Mewat; Simbol, close to the walls of this city, was possessed by Deria Lodi; Kole, by Isah; Rabari, by Cuttub, the Afghan; Cumpela and Pattiali, by the Indian prince Partab; Biana was subject to Daood Lodi; so that the city of Delhi, and a few small districts, remained only to the king.

Beloli makes an unsuccessful attempt upon Delhi, Beloli made, about this time, another attempt upon the city, but was not more successful than he was before. The king, relieved from this danger, began to consult the means to recover part of his lost empire, advising with Cuttub Isah, and Partab. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him, that the omrahs were all disgusted with his vizier; that, should he be turned out of office, and imprisoned, they were ready to pay him due allegiance, and made no doubt but the affairs of the empire would put on a more favourable aspect. The weak Alla became the dupe of those traitors, and accordingly imprisoned and disgraced his vizier. He immediately ordered preparations to be made for removing his court to Budaoon, from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him; though they represented, in a strong light, how impolitic it would be, at such a juncture, to change his capital.

Fixes his residence at Budaoon. Alla accordingly, in the year eight hundred and fifty-two, set out for Budaoon, leaving Hissam in the government of Delhi. When the Sultan arrived at his new capital, Cuttub and Partab

Partab waited upon him, and told him, that as long as the vizier was alive, the omrahs could not be brought to trust themselves at court. The weak king was prevailed upon to command him to be put to death; but the vizier's brother having notice given him of this bloody purpose, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release him, and to escape to Delhi. He there took immediate possession of all the king's effects, and turned his haram out of the city.

A D 1448
H g 852.

Orders the
vizier to be
put to
death

who escapes
to Delhi,

Alla put off the time by ridiculous procrastinations, and vain excuses of the weather, and unlucky times, till the vizier had called Beloli to take upon him the empire. Beloli, glad of the opportunity, amused the Sultan, by writing to him, that he was coming to chastise the vizier, till he arrived and took possession of the city, taking upon himself the title of Sultan Beloli. He, however, gave place to the name of Alla, in the Chutba, in the year eight hundred and fifty-four.

and places
Beloli upon
the throne.

He gave the city in charge to his son, Chaja Baezid, marched in person to Debalpoor, and collected together a great army of Afghans. He wrote, at the same time, to Alla, that, upon his account, he had expelled the vizier; and he received for answer, from that weak prince, that as his father had adopted Beloli as his son, he would esteem him his brother; he moreover promised to cede to him the empire, upon condition that he would permit him to live quietly in the possession of Budaoon. Beloli threw immediately the name of Alla out of the Chutba, and spread the umbrella of empire over his own head. Alla remained at Budaoon till his death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eighty-three; his reign in Delhi being seven years, and his government of Budaoon near twenty-eight. A

Alla abdicates in favour of Beloli

A. D. 1450.
Hig. 854. weak, and sometimes a wicked, prince, while he retained the empire; in a private station, a peaceable, if not a virtuous man.

State of
Asia.

Persia, and the western Tartary, were in confusion during the short reign of Alla, by means of a series of hostilities between the descendants of Timur, who had divided his conquests among them. The Mogul empire ceased, in fact, to exist, though Abu-Seid, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, kept up the name of it, in the western Tartary and Chorassan.

B E L O L I.

B E L O L I was an Afghan, of the tribe of A D 1450.
 Lodi, which people, forming themselves Hig. 854
 into a commercial society, carried on a trade be- Beloli's fa-
 tween Persia and Hindostan. In the time of the mily.
 emperor Feroze, Ibrahim, the grandfather of Be-
 loli, being possessed of wealth, made his way at
 the court of Delhi, and raised himself to the go-
 vernment of Moultan. Ibrahim had five sons,
 Sultan, Culla, Firoze, Mahommed, and Chaja,
 who, on the death of their father, remained in
 Moultan.

When Chizer, afterwards emperor, was appoint-
 ed to that government, Sultan received the com-
 mand of all his Afghan troops. In the action which
 Chizer had with Eckbal, Sultan had the good for-
 tune to kill Eckbal, by which means he became a
 great favourite with Chizer. He was accordingly
 appointed by that prince governor of Sirhind, with
 the title of Islam Chan, while his brothers partook
 of his fortune. One of whom, Calla, the father
 of Beloli, had a district bestowed upon him by his
 brother. The wife of Calla, who was his own
 cousin, being smothered by the fall of a house, Account of
 when with child, the father instantly ripped up his birth
 her belly, and saved the life of the infant, who
 afterwards held the empire, by the title of Sultan
 Beloli.

Calla being killed in an action with the Afghans Distinguish-
 of Neaz, Beloli went to his uncle Islam, at Sir- es himself
 hind, and upon his distinguishing himself in a in an ac-
 battle, on

A. D. 1450. battle, his uncle gave him his daughter in marriage. H. 854. Islam was, at this time, so powerful, that he retained twelve thousand Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service.

Islam recommends Beloli to the government of Sirhind. Islam, at his death, though he had children of his own come to maturity, recommended Beloli to succeed him. The troops, upon this, divided into three parties, one of which adhered to Beloli, one to Firose, brother to Islam, who had been made an omrah by the king of Delhi, and the other to Cuttub, the son of Islam. But Beloli, who was the most artful of the three, found means to weaken his rivals, and increase his own power.

Cuttub complains at the court of Delhi. Cuttub repaired to Delhi, and acquainted the emperor Mahommed V. that the Afghans of Sirhind were establishing a power, which unless it was soon prevented, would shake the empire. The Emperor immediately dispatched his vizier Secunder, with a powerful army, to bring the chiefs of the Afghans to court, and if they disobeyed, to expel them from Sirhind. Jifferit was also instigated to take arms against them, by which means they were, in the end, driven to the hills; but upon a promise of peace, and of their future good behaviour, Firose left his son Shai Chan and Beloli with his army, and with some attendants, went to Jifferit and Secunder. They, notwithstanding their promise, by the advice of Cuttub, his nephew, who was in the imperial camp, imprisoned him and slew all his attendants. They also dispatched part of their army to reduce Beloli, but he retreated to a place of safety, with the women and children. Before he could join Shai Chan, he was attacked and defeated, and a great part of his army slain.

When Jifferit had retired to Punjab, Beloli collected the remains of his tribe, and began to raise

raise contributions, or plunder wherever he could, and as he was extremely generous in dividing the spoil among his followers, he soon became very powerful. Some time after, Firose made his escape from Delhi, and joined him; and even Cuttub, repenting of his former behaviour, found means to be reconciled to Beloli. Beloli soon after invaded Sirhind, and possessed himself of that province. Upon receiving intelligence of these transactions, the emperor Mahommed sent Hissam, his vizier, with a great army against him. Beloli took the field, and giving the vizier battle, defeated him, by which his power and reputation greatly encreased.

A. D. 1450
Hig. 854.
Beloli becomes powerful.

We are told, that when Beloli was yet a youth in his uncle's service, one day he was permitted to pay his respects to a famous Dirvesh of Sammana, whose name was Sheidai. When he sat in a respectful posture before him, the Dirvesh cried out, in an enthusiastic manner, "Who will give two thousand rupees for the empire of Delhi?" Upon which, Beloli told him, he had only one thousand six hundred rupees in the world, which he ordered his servant to bring immediately and present to the Dirvesh. The Dirvesh accepted the money, and, laying his hand upon the head of Beloli, saluted him king.

Is promised the empire by a Dirvesh.

The companions of Beloli ridiculed him very much for this action; but he replied, "That, if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap purchase; if not, the blessing of a holy man could do him no harm." Upon a mind naturally ambitious, and in an age of superstition, this prediction of the Dirvesh might have great effect in promoting its own end; for when a man's mind is once bent upon the attainment of one object, the greatest difficulties will be

Refle on upon that tale

often

A. D. 1450 often furmounted, by a steady perseverance.
 Hig. 854. But to return from this digression.

After Beloli had defeated the vizier, he wrote to the emperor Mahommed, as before related, laying the whole blame of his rebellion upon the vizier's conduct towards him. When Mahommed basely complied with his desire of cutting off the vizier, Beloli, according to his promise, waited upon the king, that he might be better able to carry on his intrigues at court. He managed his affairs at Delhi so well, that the government of Sirhind was conferred upon him, together with other districts near it, confirmed to him in jagier; which were the means that enabled him to mount the throne, as we have already seen, in the former reign. He had, at the time of his accession, nine sons, Chaja Baezid, Nizam, who was afterwards king under the name of Secunder; Barbec, Mubarick, Alla, Jemmâl, Jacob, Mufah, and Jellâl; and of omrahs of renown, who were related to him, there were thirty-six in the empire.

His sons & relations.

His stratagem against Hamid.

As Hamid, the vizier, who conferred the empire upon him, had great influence still in the state, he treated him for some time with honor and respect. Being one day in Hamid's house, at an entertainment, he ordered the companions whom he carried with him, to make themselves appear as foolish and ridiculous as possible, that the vizier might consider them as silly fellows; that so he might be less upon his guard against them. When they accordingly came into company, some tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the niches of the apartment. Hamid asked them the reason of that extraordinary behaviour. They replied, that they were afraid of thieves. When they had taken their seats upon the carpet, one of them began
 to

to praise the flowers, and brightness of the colours, saying, He would be extremely glad to have such a carpet, to send home to his own country, to make caps for his boys. Hamid laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for that purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to rub the finest oter of roses all over them, others to drink it, and others to devour whole festoons of flowers, while the beetle stood no chance, but was eat up, cover and all; some, who had eat large pieces of chunam, by having their mouths burnt, made a terrible outcry; and, in this kind of foolery, every one was endeavouring to outdo another, while the king and the vizier were almost bursting with laughter.

The vizier, imagining that this behaviour proceeded from the king's humour, who had a mind to make merry in his house, was extremely pleased, and had no suspicion of men given to so much mirth. The next visit the king paid to Hamid, a greater number of his attendants were admitted: but as Hamid had still a greater number of his own friends within the court, it was necessary to gain admission for some more of the king's people, who were stopped without by the guards. The king having before, instructed them how to proceed in this case, they began loudly to wrangle with the guard, and threw out bitter invectives against the king, for permitting them to be so unworthily treated. They even swore that they respected the vizier, and would see him.

The vizier hearing this, ordered the doors to be thrown open, and as many to be admitted as the court could contain. This point being gained, the king gave the signal, and all his people drawing at once, told Hamid's servants to remain quiet

*The vizier
seized in his
own house.*

*A. D. 1450.
Hig 854.*

A. D. 1451
Hig. 855.

quiet, and they should come to no harm. Upon which, two or three seized the vizier and bound him. The king then told him, that gratitude was a security for his life, but that it was necessary he should retire from business, and spend the rest of his days in the cares of a future state. After this the king ruled without fear or controul.

Beloli regulates the western provinces.

The same year, the eight hundred and fifty-fifth of the Higera, he left Delhi, under the charge of his eldest son, Baezid, and marched towards Moultan to recruit his army, and to regulate all the western provinces. Some of his omrahs being dissatisfied at this time, left him, and joined Mahmood, king of Jionpoor, who, during the absence of Beloli, in the beginning of the year eight hundred and fifty-six, advanced with a great army, and laid siege to Delhi. Beloli hastened from Debalpoor, march by march, nor halted till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of Delhi.

Beloli defeats the army of Mahmood.

Mahmood sent thirty thousand horse, and thirty elephants, under the command of Herevi, against him. When the action began, Cuttub, who excelled in archery, having sunk an arrow in the forehead of one of Herevi's elephants, the animal became outrageous, and broke the lines. Cuttub, in the mean time, advancing against Diria Lodi, one of the disaffected omrahs, who had joined Mahmood, cried out—"For shame! "Diria, where is your honor, thus to wage war "against your own kindred, and to invest your "wife and family in the city of Delhi, when you "ought rather to defend them against your natural enemies?" "Pursue me not," said Diria, "and I am gone;" and he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Patans, or Afghans, in Herevi's army. The other troops being thus deserted, gave way, and Herevi was taken prisoner;

soner; but having, with his own hand, just A D. 1451.
Hig. 855 killed the brother of Rai Kirren, that omrah, in revenge, struck off his head, and sent it to the emperor. Upon receiving the news of this defeat, Mahmood raised the siege of Delhi, and retreated with great precipitation to Jionpoor.

The power of Beloli became firmly established, and he began to turn his thoughts upon new acquisitions. His first movement was towards Mewat, where Hamid, the vizier, submitted himself to his authority. The emperor took seven pergunnahs from Hamid, and permitted him to hold the remainder in fee. Beloli from thence marched to Birren, and Diria, governor of Simbol, presented him with seven more pergunnahs, and submitted in like manner. He then took the rout of Koli, and confirmed Isah in that government. He continued his progress to Burhanabad, and gave that province to Mubarrick, while Boga, was delivered over to Rai Partab. But when he advanced to Raberi, Cuttub, the son of Hassen, the governor, shut himself up in the fort, but the king took it in a few days by capitulation, and again settled him in the same government. Beloli marching from thence to Attava regulated that government, and confirmed the former Suba.

An omrah, called Jonah, quitted about this time, the court in disgust, and joined Mahmood, king of the East, from whom he received the government of Shumseabad. Jonah instigated Mahmood to make another attempt upon Delhi, who The king
of the East
has designs
upon Delhi. for that purpose, took the route of Attava, where he met Beloli. The armies, the first day of their appearance in sight, on both sides sent out parties to skirmish, but nothing remarkable was done, and, the next day, they began to treat, when it was agreed, that Beloli should keep possession

A. D. 1452
Hig. 836.

session of all the countries possessed by the emperor Mubarick, and that Mahmood should hold all that was in the possession of Sultan Ibrahim, of Jionpoor; that the former should give up all the elephants taken in the engagement with Herevi, and the latter turn Jonah out of his government.

Offended
with Beloli

Mahmood, immediately after this pacification, returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli went to Shumseabad to take possession of it. This latter expedition of Beloli greatly offended Mahmood, and he immediately returned to Shumseabad, where the omrahs, Cuttub and Diria, surprized his camp in the night. But during the attack, the horse of Cuttub having trod upon a tent-pin, threw him, and he was taken by the enemy, and his party retreated to their own camp. Beloli drew out his army in the morning, but received advice that Mahmood had just expired, and that the omrahs had set up his son Mahommed; and, by the mediation of Bibi Raja, the young king's mother, who probably had received previous assurances, a peace was immediately concluded. Mahommed returned to Jionpoor, and Beloli took the rout of Delhi.

Dies.

Before the king arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shumse Chatoon, the sister of Cuttub, conjuring him, in the most tender manner, not to suffer her brother to remain in captivity. This prevailed upon Beloli to break the peace he had just concluded, and to march towards Jionpoor. Mahommed met him near Sirfutti. The younger brother of Mahommed, Hassen, fearing his brother's resentment for some trespass, took this opportunity of marching off, with all his adherents, to Kinnoge. Sittal, his other brother, soon followed him; but the detachment which Beloli had sent after Hassen, met Sittal on the way, and took him prisoner. Beloli determined to keep him as a ransom for Cuttub.

In

In the mean time, the omrahs conspired against Mahommed, king of the Eastern provinces, and having assassinated him, advanced Hassan, his brother, who had fled to Kinnoge, to the throne. Beloli, for what reason we know not, took no advantage of these disorders, but now entered into a truce with Hassan for the space of four years; Cuttub and Sittal being interchangeably released. Beloli returned towards Shumseabad, whither Bir-Singi, the son of Rai Partab, came to pay his respects. But as his father had taken a standard and a pair of drums formerly from the omrah Deria in an action, that base man thought to wipe off that dishonour by assassinating Bir-Singhi. Cuttub the son of Hassan, Mubariz, and Rai Partab, differing with the cruel traitor about this murder, were obliged to fly to Hassan, king of the Eastern provinces. Beloli, after these transactions, returned to Delhi.

A. D. 1452.
Hig 856
Mahom-
med assassi-
nated.

Treachery
of Deria,

But, upon account of the rebellion of the viceroy of Moultan, and the disorders in Punjab, he marched towards that quarter. Upon his way, he heard that the Eastern monarch Hassan was advancing, in his absence, with a great army, to take Delhi. He therefore, through necessity, returned, and leaving Delhi in charge of Cuttub and Jehan, he went out to meet the enemy. The two armies having met at the village of Chundwar, they skirmished without intermission for seven days. A peace was at length patched up for the term of three years. At the expiration of this truce, Hassan invested Attava, took it, and drew over Ahmed, governor of Mewat, and Rustum of Koli, to his interest, while Ahmed, who commanded at Selwan, and was also governor of Biana, struck money and read the chutba in his name. Hassan, with one hundred

Beloli
marches
against Has-
sen

A.D. 1452.
Hig. 85⁶, hundred thousand horse and a thousand elephants, marched from Attava towards Delhi; and Beloli, no ways intimidated by that great force, marched out boldly to meet him. The two armies having advanced to Battevara, encamped for some time in sight of each other, and after some skirmishes, in which there was no superiority of advantage on either side, they again struck up a peace. But this pacification was not permanent. Hassen advanced again towards Delhi some months after, and was opposed at the village of Sinkar, and obliged to depart upon peaceable terms.

Much about this time, the mother of Hassen, Bibi Raja, died at Attava, and the Raja of Guallier and Cuttub went to console him upon that occasion. When in discourse, Cuttub perceived that Hassen was a bitter enemy of Beloli, he began to flatter him after this manner:—Beloli is one of your dependants, and cannot think of contending long with you. If I do not put you in possession of Delhi, look on my word as nothing. He then with much art, got leave to depart from Hassen's court, and returned to Delhi, and there he told to Beloli that he had escaped with a great deal of difficulty from the hands of Hassen who was meditating a fresh war against him.

The Emperor
Alladies. About this time, the abdicated emperor, Alla, died at Budaoon, upon which Hassen went to settle matters at Budaoon, and, after the funeral ceremonies were over, he took that country from the children of Alla. Marching from thence to Simbol, he imprisoned Mubarick, governor of that province, then marching towards Delhi, in the year eight hundred and eighty-three, he crossed the river Jumma near Gutte-ruitch. Beloli, who was at Sirhind, upon receiving intelligence of this invasion, returned with all

Hassen
marches to
Delhi.

all expedition to save his capital. Several flight actions ensued, in which Hassen had in general, the advantage. A D 1478
H₁₀. 883.

Cuttub dispatched a person to Hassen, informing him, that Beloli was ready to relinquish all the countries beyond the Ganges, upon condition he should leave him in possession of all the provinces on this side of that river. These terms being accepted, they reversed their hostile spears, and Hassen marched homeward. But Beloli, in a perfidious manner, broke the peace, and, pursuing Hassen, attacked him upon his march, killing a great number, and taking forty omrahs prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Beloli pursued his victory, and took several districts belonging to Hassen, such as Campul, Pattiali, Shumfeabad, Sickite, Marhera, Sittali, and Koli, appointing agents to manage them under himself. But when he had pursued Hassen as far as Arumbidger, the latter stood his ground, and engaged Beloli. The victory being dubious, a peace was patched up between them, the village of Doupamou being settled as the boundary between the empires. After this pacification, Hassen proceeded to Rabei, and Beloli returned to Delhi. Beloli's perfidy.

Hassen could not, however, forget the perfidy of Beloli. He recruited his army, and some time after marched against him, and met him at the village of Sinhar, when an obstinate battle ensued, in which Hassen was defeated, and lost all his treasure and baggage, which, together with an addition of reputation, greatly promoted the affairs of Beloli. Hassen having retreated to Rabei, he was followed thither by Beloli, and upon standing a second engagement, he was again totally defeated. After the battle, he retreated towards Gualier; the raja of Gualier brought him

A. D. 1478. him some lacks of rupees, elephants, horses, ca-
 Hig. 883. mels, and a fine set of camp equipage, and accompanied him to Calpie.

Beloli marched, in the mean time, to Attava, where he besieged Ibrahim, the brother of Hassen, and took the place by capitulation. He, however, generously made him a present of the fort and proceeded to Calpie; Hassen met him upon the banks of the river, where they remained for some months. But Rai Chand of Buxar, coming over to Beloli, shewed him a passable ford in the river, by which he crossed, and attacking Hassen, defeated him and drove him to Jionpoor, upon which Beloli turned off to the left towards Kinnoge. Hassen again met him near that city, but he was once more defeated with great slaughter. His regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio, Bibi Conza, the daughter of Alla, emperor of Delhi, who was treated with great respect. Beloli returned, after this victory, to Delhi.

Affairs of
 the empire.

Having recruited and regulated his army, he advanced the spear of hostility again towards Jionpoor. He conquered that country, and gave it to Mubarick Lohani, leaving Cuttub, Jehan, and other omrahs, at Migouli, to secure his conquests. He himself went to Budaoon, where he soon after heard of Cuttub's death. Jehan, Mubarick, and other omrahs, though they kept up the appearance of fidelity, were, after the death of Cuttub, concerting measures to throw off Beloli's yoke. Beloli being apprized of their intentions, marched towards Jionpoor, and drove away Hassen, who had made an attempt to recover it, and placed Barbec, one of his own sons, upon the throne of Jionpoor. He himself returned to Calpie, which he took, and gave to his grandson, Azim Humaioon, the son of his eldest son Baizied. He directed then his march
 to

to Dolepore, raising a tribute upon the raja of that place, who began to rank himself among Beloli's subjects. The king marched from thence to a place in the districts of Rintimpore, which he plundered, and soon after returned to Delhi.

Beloli being now extremely old, and infirmities beginning daily to increase upon him, he divided his dominions among his sons, giving Jionpoor to Barbec; Kurrah and Manikpoor, to Mubarrick; Barage to his nephew Mahommed, famous by the name of Kalla Par, or the Black Mountain; Lucknore and Calpee, to Humaioon, whose father, Baezid, was assassinated a little before by his own servant; Budaoon to Chan Jehan, one of his old omrahs, and a relation; and Delhi, with several countries between the two rivers, to his son Nizam, known afterwards by the name of Sultan Secunder, whom he appointed his successor in the imperial dignity.

Some time after this division, the emperor proceeded to Gualier, and raising a tribute of eighty lacks of rupees from the raja of that place, came to Attava, from whence he expelled Sickit Sing, and then turned his face towards Delhi. Falling sick upon his march, many of the omrahs were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Humaioon, his grandson. The sultana, upon this, wrote to her son Nizam, who, having heard of his father's illness, was setting out from Delhi, by no means to come, otherwise he might be imprisoned by the omrahs: at the same time the king, by the advice of some omrahs, ordered public letters to be sent him, to hasten him to the camp, that he might see him before his death. Nizam was greatly perplexed how to act upon this nice occasion. He, at length, was advised by Cuttuluk, the vizier of the Eastern emperor Hassen, who was

A. D. 1478
Hig. 883.

Beloli, old
and infirm.

He falls
sick.

was

A. D. 1488. was then prisoner at Delhi, to pitch his tents
 Hig. 894. without the city, and to advance by very slow
 marches. In the mean time, the king's disease
 Dies. overcame him, and he died at Malauli, in the
 pergunnah of Sikite, in the year eight hundred
 and ninety-four, having reigned thirty-eight
 years, eight months, and seven days.

His charac-
 ter.

Beloli was, for those days, esteemed a virtuous
 and mild prince, executing justice to the utmost
 of his knowledge, and treating his courtiers ra-
 ther as his companions than his subjects. When
 he came to the empire, he divided the public
 treasure among his friends, and could be seldom
 prevailed upon to mount the throne, saying,
 "That it was enough for him, that the world
 " knew he was king, without his making a vain
 " parade of royalty." He was extremely tem-
 perate in his diet, and seldom eat at home.
 Though a man of no great literature himself, he
 was fond of the company of learned men, whom
 he rewarded according to their merit. He had
 given so many proofs of personal bravery that
 none could doubt it; at the same time, he was
 often cautious to excess, never chusing to trust
 much to chance, and delighting greatly in nego-
 tiation.

State of
 Asia.

During the long reign of Beloli, in Delhi, the
 empire of Persia remained divided into a number
 of petty principalities, most of them subject to the
 descendants of Timur-Bec and Zingis Chan.
 Ismaiel, who afterwards founded the dynasty of
 the Sosis of Persia, began to make some figure, in
 the Western Asia, before the death of Beloli.
 Transoxiana, the most of Chorassan and the pro-
 vinces towards the Indus, were subject to the
 posterity of Timur, who were engaged in almost
 uninterrupted hostilities against one another.

S E C U N D E R I.

TH E omrahs, immediately upon the death of Beloli, formed themselves into a council, in which some appeared to be attached to the interest of Azim Humaioon, some to Barbec, the eldest son of the Sultan then living, and some to Nizam, who had assumed the name of Secunder, in consequence of his father's will. When they were debating, the mother of Secunder, whose name was Rana, originally a goldsmith's daughter, but raised to the Sultan's bed, by the fame of her beauty, came behind the curtain, in the great tent, and made a speech to the omrahs, in favor of her son. Upon which Isah, the nephew of Beloli, answered her, in a disrespectful manner, and concluded with saying, that a goldsmith's offspring was not qualified to hold the empire.

A.D. 1488.
Hig. 894.

The omrahs variously inclined.

Firmilli, who had been dignified, by Beloli, with the title of first of the nobles, a stout daring man, took him up, and told him, That Beloli was yet scarce cold in his hearse, and that the man who threw such ungenerous aspersions upon his family ought to be despised. Isah replied, That silence would better become him, who was only a servant of the state. Upon which the other rose up, in a rage, and told him, he was, indeed, a servant of Secunder, and would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it. He rushed out of the council, followed by all his party, and carried off the body of the deceased

Firmilli's boldness

A.D. 1488. King to Jellali, where he was met by Secunder,
 Hig. 894 who there ascended his father's throne.

Secunder
 mounts the
 throne.

Defeats
 and pardons
 Isah.

Secunder sending the corpse of his father to Delhi, marched against Isah, and having defeated him, afterwards forgave his offence. Returning then to Delhi, he, in the manner of his father, conferred favors upon all his kindred. Secunder had, at this time, six sons, Ibrahim, Jellâl, Ishmaiel, Hassein, Mahmood, and Humaioon; and likewise fifty-three omrahs of distinction of his own family, in his service.

Marches
 against his
 brother
 Allum.

Some time after his accession, Secunder marched towards Raberi, and besieged his own brother, Allum, in the fort of Chundwar, for some days. Allum evacuated the place, and fled to Isah Lodi, at Pattiali. Secunder gave Raberi to Firmilli, went, in person, to Attava, and calling Allum, his brother, to court, gave him possession of that country. He then advanced to Pattiali, engaged Isah a second time, wounded, and defeated him; after which Isah threw himself upon Secunder's mercy, was pardoned, and soon after died of his wound.

Again de-
 feats Isah.

Secunder, about that time, sent a trusty person to Barbec, his brother, King of Jionpoor, desiring he would do him homage, and order his name to be read first in the chutba all over his dominions. Barbec rejected these proposals, and Secunder marched against him. Barbec and Calla Par came out in order of battle to meet him. An action ensued, in which Calla Par, charging too far among the troops of Delhi, was taken prisoner. Secunder, upon seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embraced him, saying, that he esteemed him as his father, and begged to be looked upon as his son. Calla Par, confounded at the honor done him, replied, that, except his life, he had nothing to make a recompence for such kindness, desiring to get a horse, that he might show

Marches
 against his
 brother
 Barbeck.

His policy.

show himself not wholly unworthy of the royal favour. He was accordingly mounted, and perfidiously sold his reputation for a compliment, turning his sword against Barbec; which circumstance, in some measure, contributed to the success of Secunder. The troops of Barbec seeing Calla Par charging them, imagined that all his forces were also gone over to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight. Barbec did all that bravery could perform; but finding himself deserted, he fled to Budaoon, while Mubarc, his son, was taken prisoner. Secunder pursuing him close, invested Barbec in Budaoon, who, soon driven to distress, capitulated, and was received with great kindness and respect. The King carried Barbec with him to Jionpoor; but as Hassan, the expelled King of the eastern provinces, was still a powerful prince in Behar, he thought Barbec would be the properest person to check him, and accordingly, confirmed him as before in the government of Jionpoor; leaving, however, some trusty friends at his court, upon whom he bestowed estates and jurisdictions, to keep them firm in his own interest.

A D 1488.
Hig 894

Barbec de
feated

Secunder returning to Calpie, took the place from his brother Azim Humaoun, and gave it to Mahmood Lodi. He marched from thence to Kurrah, and Talar the governor paying him homage, he confirmed him in his office, and turning towards the fort of Gualier, he sent one of his omrahs Chaja with an honorary dress to Raja Man, who dispatched his nephew with presents to accompany the King to Biana. Sherrif, the governor of Biana, met the emperor, upon friendly terms. The king ordered him to give up Biana, and he would appoint him governor of Tellasar, Chandwar, Marrara, and Sekite. Sherrif took Omar Serwani with him to put him in possession of the fort, but when he had got within the walls,

Secunder
marches to
Calpie.

A D. 1483.
Hig. 894.

he shut the gates upon Omar, and prepared to defend himself. The King despairing to reduce the place, went to Agra, where Hybut, who held that fort under Sherrif, as governor of Biana, shut the gates against him, contrary to his expectation. This insult enraged the Sultan to that degree, that he determined, let the event be what it would, to reduce Sherrif to his obedience. He accordingly, leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, returned in person, with the utmost expedition, towards Biana, which he immediately besieged. The siege proved long and bloody; however, Sherrif, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, in the year eight hundred and ninety seven, and his government was given to Firmilli, who had been dignified with the title of first of the nobles.

Reduces
Biana.

and Agra.

An insur-
rection at
Jionpoor.

The fort of Agra falling, about the same time, into Secunder's hands, he returned to Delhi, where, in a few days, he received advices of an insurrection at Jionpoor, among the zemindars, to the number of one hundred thousand horse and foot; and that they had already slain Sheri, the brother of Mubarick the governor of Kurrah. Mubarick himself being driven from Kurrah, was taken prisoner by Rai Bhede, of Battea, and Barbec obliged to go to Barage, to solicit the assistance of Calla Par; so that the King, after twenty two days respite at Delhi, was under the necessity of marching towards Jionpoor. When he arrived at Dilmow, he was joined by Barbec; and Rai Bhede hearing of Secunder's approach, released Mubarick, and the zemindars dispersed themselves. The Sultan carried Barbec to Jionpoor, and having left him there to punish the offenders, he spent a month in hunting about Oud. At Oud intelligence was brought to Secunder, that the zemindars had risen again, and besieged Barbec in Jionpoor. He ordered immediately that Calla Par, Humaioon Serwani, and Lowani, by

by the way of Oud, and Mubarick by the way of Kurrah, should march against them, and send Barbec prisoner to the presence. His orders were accordingly executed, Barbec was given in charge to Hybut and Omar Serwani, being esteemed an improper person for the government, and too dangerous to be trusted with his liberty.

The King, after these transactions, marched towards Chinara, which was held for Sultan Hassen of the East; upon his approach, the garrison made a sally, and were driven back into the fort; but Secunder upon reconnoitring the place, looked upon it as almost impregnable, and immediately left it, marching his army towards Battea. Rai Bhede came out of Battea, and paid him homage, upon which the King confirmed him in his dominions, and returned to Areil, ordering Rai Bhede to accompany him; but Rai Bhede suspecting some design against himself, left all his retinue, and deserted the camp alone. Secunder sent him back his effects. He, however, permitted his troops to plunder the country of Areil, and crossing the river, by the way of Kurrah, went to Dilmow, where he married the widow of Sheri, the late governor of that place. From Dilmow Secunder marched to Shumseabad, where he remained six months, and then went to Simbol; but returning from thence, in a few days, to Shumseabad, he plundered the town of Mudeo-makil, where a band of banditti resided. Secunder spent the rainy season at Shumseabad. In the year nine hundred, Secunder made another campaign towards Battea, defeating Bir Singh, the son of Rai Bhede, at Carangatti who fled to Battea; but upon the King's approach, Rai Bhede took the route of Sirkutch, and died upon his march. Secunder, after this victory, proceeded to Sezdewar; but provisions

A. D. 1491.
Hig 897.

Rai Bhede
submits

growing

A. D. 1491. growing scarce in his camp, he was obliged to
 Hig. 897. return to Jionpoor, having in this expedition,
 lost a great part of his cavalry by fatigue, bad
 roads, and the want of forage.

Lickim, the son of Rai Bhede, and other zemindars, wrote to Sultan Hassen, the titular King of the East, now in possession of the province of Behâr, that the cavalry of Secunder was now in a wretched condition, and that it was an excellent opportunity for him to take satisfaction for his former defeats. This induced Hassen to put his army in motion, and march directly against Secunder. The emperor hearing of his intentions, put his army upon the best footing possible, and crossed the Ganges to meet him, which he did thirty six miles from Benaris: An obstinate battle was fought, in which Hassen was defeated and fled to Battea.

Hassen sets
 upon Secun-
 der,

but is over-
 thrown.

Secunder leaving his camp with a proper guard, pursued the fugitives for three days, with a party of horse; but hearing that Hassen was gone to Behar, he stopped, and upon the ninth day returned to his camp. He soon after marched with his whole army towards Behar, but upon his approach, Hassen left Cundu to guard the city, and fled himself to Calgaw, in the dominion of Bengal. Alla, then King of Bengal, called Hassen to his court, and treated him with the greatest respect during the remainder of his days, which he passed with him; so that with Hassen the royal line of Jionpoor was extinguished.

Secunder
 marches to
 Behar,

which is
 evacuated,

Bengal in-
 vaded.

Secunder, from his camp at Deopar, sent a division of his army against Cundu, who evacuated the city and fled, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. The King left Mohabut with a force in Behar, and marched towards Turhat, the raja of which submitted himself to his clemency, and laying down a large sum, agreed to pay

pay an annual tribute. To collect the tribute, A. D. 1424.
Hig 500 the Sultan left Mubarick, and returned to Der-
veshpoor, and from thence went to visit the tomb
Shech Sherrif at Behar, and distributed presents
to the dirveshes who lived there upon the charity
of pilgrims.

Secunder having regulated his army, marched
towards Bengal; but when he had reached Cutt-
lishpoor, Alla King of Bengal sent Danial his son
to oppose him. Secunder detached Zere Ziehme,
one of his generals, to acquaint him, that he had
no intention to subdue the country, but as their
dominions now bordered upon each other, it be-
came necessary to know upon what footing he
must esteem Alla, before he left that country. A peacecon-
cluded be-
tween Se-
cunder and
Alla
The king of Bengal gladly accepted of a peace,
wherein it was stipulated, that neither monarch
should permit any of their governors to invade
each other's dominions, and that neither of them
should give protection to the other's enemies.

Secunder returned to Dirveshpoor. Mubarick
at that time dying, the care of Turhat was given
to Azim Humaioun, the son of Chan Jehan, and
Behar was bestowed upon Deria, the son of Mu-
barick. There happened, at this time, a great A dearth in
Hindustan.
dearth in the country, but all duties being taken
off by the King's order, that calamity was in a
great measure mitigated. Secunder, in the mean
time, reducing the districts of Sarin, which were
then in the hands of some Zemindars, gave the
lands in jagiers to some of his omrahs; then re-
turning by the way of Muvilligur to Jionpoor, he
resided there six months.

Secunder having asked the daughter of Sal Ba-
hin, raja of Battea, in marriage, the father re-
fused to comply with his request. Secunder, to
revenge this affront, put his army in motion a-
gainst the raja, in the year nine hundred and four Battea tak-
en and de-
stroyed
and

A. D. 1494 and marching to Bāttea, sacked it. After hav-
 Hig. 900. ing ravaged the country round Bandugūr, he
 returned to Jionpoor, where he spent some time,
 in the civil regulations of the empire. About
 this time, the accounts of Mubarick Lōdi being
 inspected for the time of his administration in
 Jionpoor, and a great balance being found due
 to the royal revenue, the King ordered it to be
 levied upon him. This severity greatly disgust-
 ed the omrahs, among whom Mubarick was
 very much esteemed. A faction accordingly
 arose in the army, which first discovered itself by
 private quarrels. For, one day, as the Sultan
 and his court were playing a party at club and
 ball, on horseback, the club of Hybut, by acci-
 dent, or design, wounded one Soliman in the
 head. Chizer, the brother of Soliman, came up,
 and returned the compliment, to Hybut; so that
 in a few minutes, the parties on both sides join-
 ed in the quarrel, and the whole field was in
 one uproar and confusion.

The om-
 rahs dissa-
 tisfied.

Quarrels in
 the camp.

The Sultan
 suspects a
 conspiracy.

A plot dis-
 covered.

Secunder, fearing a conspiracy, fled to the
 palace, but nothing of that kind transpiring, he
 made another party at the same game, some days
 thereafter, and a quarrel of the same nature en-
 sued, for which Shumse Chan, who begun it,
 was disgraced, and bastinadoed. But the Sultan
 would not be satisfied but that there was some
 plot in agitation, and therefore ordered his guards
 to be selected, and to keep upon the watch. The
 King's jealousies were not groundless; for at that
 time, Hybut, and two other chiefs, had proposed
 to Fatti Chan, the King's brother, to cut off the
 Sultan, who, they said, was now disliked by the
 generality of the chiefs, and to place Fatti upon
 the throne. Fatti desiring some time to consider
 of it, disclosed the secret to Shech Cabuli, and to
 his own mother, who advised him against so hor-
 rid an action; and, lest the affair should, by any
 other

other means, transpire, she desired him to acquaint the King of their proposal. This he did accordingly, and the conspirators were detached upon different services, where they were put to death by Secunder's orders. A. D. 1498
Hig 504.

Secunder, in the year nine hundred and five, marched to Simbol, where he spent four years in pleasure, and in transacting civil affairs. But hearing of some bad administration of Asghir, the governor of Delhi, he sent an order to Chawass Chan, governor of Matchiwarri, to march to Delhi, and send Asghir prisoner to court. The governor receiving advice of this order, left Delhi, and threw himself at the King's feet, but not being able to form any excuse for his bad practices, he was ordered into confinement. Secunder
retires for
four year
to Simbol

At this time there happened a remarkable instance of religious zeal and persecution. A brahmin, whose name was Bhodin, upon being abused by a Mahomedan, for his idolatry, happened to make a very moderate, but what proved to him a fatal reply. The reply was this: "That he esteemed the same God to be the object of all worship, and, therefore, believed the Mahomedan and Hindoo religions to be equally good." The bigotted Mahomedan, for what he thought the impiety of this answer, summoned the brahmin immediately before the cazy, or chief judge of the city. The affair making some noise, by the various opinions of the public, the King called together all the Mahomedan doctors of fame in the empire, to decide the cause. After many long disputes, the doctors brought in their opinion, that the brahmin ought to be forced to turn Mahomedan, or be put to death. The brahmin, however charitable he might have been to all opinions upon religion, refused to apostatize, and accordingly died a martyr to his faith, which

A remarkable
instance
of religious
persecution

A. D. 1499. which reflects no small dishonor upon Secunder
 Hig. 925. and his inquisitors.

Some fac-
 tious om-
 rahs ba-
 nished.

When Chawafs, whom we have already mentioned, entered Delhi, he found an order from the Emperor to proceed immediately to court, with which he instantly complied. At the same time, a certain omrah called Seid Sirwani came from Lahore, who was a man of a very factious disposition, and commenced some treasonable projects, for which he, Tattar, and Mahummud, were banished to Guzerat.

Secunder's
 designs
 against
 Gualier.

In the nine hundred and seventh of the Hige-
 ra, Rai Man Sing, of Gualier, sent one of his de-
 pendants called Nehal to the King with rich pre-
 sents; but as this embassador talked in too high a
 strain, Secunder ordered him to depart, and de-
 clared war against his master. But he was pre-
 vented from the execution of his purpose, for
 some time, by the death of Firmilli, governor of
 Biana, and by those disturbances in that province,
 which succeeded that governor's death. The go-
 vernment of Biana having devolved upon Ameid
 Soliman, the son of Firmilli, who was yet too
 young and unexperienced for such a charge, the
 King gave that appointment to Chawafs. Sifdir
 was sent with a force to reduce Agra, which be-
 longed to the province of Biana, and had then
 revolted; another detachment being sent, at the
 same time, to reduce the fort of Dolipoor, which
 was in the possession of Raja Benacdeo, who had
 begun to make warlike preparations. Here Chaja
 Bein, a warrior of great fame, fell by the sword,
 which so irritated Secunder, who had a great es-
 teem for him, that he marched himself against
 that place. Upon his approach Benacdeo left
 some friends in the fort, and fled towards Gua-
 lier, but the garrison, the next night, evacuated
 the place, and left the King to take possession of
 it. He tarried there about a month, and then
 marched

SECUNDER I.

A. D. 1501.
Hiz. 907.

marched to Gualier. The raja of which place, changing his haughty stile, now humbly sued for peace, sending to him Seid, Baboo, Rai Ginis, and others, who had, at different times, fled from Secunder, and taken protection under him. At the same time, he sent his own son, Bicker-magit, with presents, who had the address to procure peace.

Secunder returned to Dolipoor, which he again bestowed upon Benacdeo; then marching to Agra, he, for the first time, made that city imperial, by fixing his residence there, and abandoning the city of Delhi. Here he remained during the rains, and, in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Munderael, which he took, and destrnyed the Hindoo temples, ordering mosques to be built in their stead. Secunder returning to Dolipoor, removed the raja from his office, and gave it to one Kimir. He passed from thence to Agra, giving his omrahs leave to return to their respective estates.

Makes
Agra
the royal
residence.

In the following year, upon Sunday the third of Siffer, there was a violent earthquake in Agra, so that the mountains shook on their broad bases, and every lofty building was levelled with the ground, some thousands being buried in the ruins. Secunder, in the same year, moved towards Gualier, and stopped by the way some time at Dolipoor, where he left his family, and, with an unincumbered army of horse, proceeded to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great spoils, and ravaged their peaceful habitations. Just as the King was passing by the town of Javer, in the dominions of the raja of Gualier, he was attacked by a resolute body of men, who had lain in ambush for him; but, by the bravery of Awid and Ahmed, the sons of Chan Jehan, the Hindoos were defeated, and a great number of rajaputs put to the sword.

An earth-
quake at
Agra.

The

A.D. 1704.
 Hg. 910.
 Surrender
 of Gwalior,
 which is
 taken.

The Sultan returned to Agra; and, in the year nine hundred and twelve, he went towards the fort of Awintgur; and, as he had despaired of reducing Gwalior, he bent his whole strength to the reduction of this place. It was accordingly, in a short time, taken, and all the rajaput garrison put to the sword, the temples destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their place. This government was conferred upon Bickin, the son of Mujahid Chan, when some envious persons gave the King information that Mujahid had taken a bribe from the raja of Awintgur, when they were marching against him, in order to divert the King from that resolution. This being proved, Mujahid was imprisoned at Dolipoor; after which the King, returning towards Agra, on the way lost eight hundred men, in one day, for want of water.

of six months, at Narvar, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He there also established a kind of monastery, which he filled with divines and learned men. A.D. 1556.
Hig. 912.

Shah ul Dien, the son of Nasir, King of Malava, being at this time discontented with his father, proposed to have a conference with Secunder. The King immediately sent him a dress, and promised to support him in the government of Chinderi, against the power of his father. But circumstances so fell out, that it became unnecessary to take that unnatural step.

The Sultan, in the month of Shuban, in the year nine hundred and fourteen, marched from Narvar; but after he had advanced to the river Ganges, he began to consider that it would be proper to surround that fortress with another wall. He therefore ordered that work to be immediately begun, and then he himself took the rout of Lohar. At that place he bestowed Calpie, in jagier, upon Niamut Chatoon, the wife of Cuttub Lodi, and daughter of the prince Jellâl, his brother. He then directed his march towards the capital, and arriving at Ilitgat, sent a detachment against some rebels in that country, and destroyed all their habitations, placing small garrisons at proper distances to overawe them. About this time he received advices, that Ahmed, the son of Mubarick Lodi, governor of Lucknora, had turned idolater; upon which orders were dispatched to send him prisoner to court, and that his second brother, Sud Chan, should take the administration of affairs in his stead. In the year nine hundred and sixteen, the King marched to Dolipoor, and ordered caravanseras to be built at every stage. Mahummud Nagori having defeated Ali and Abu Bekir, who had conspired against him, they fled to Secunder for protection. Mahummud, fearing they would bring the King against

A. D. 1109. against him, sent presents by way of prevention,
 Hig. 915. and ordered the chutba to be read in Secunder's name. The Sultan, pleased with his submission, sent him a dress of confirmation, and returned to Agra.

Transac- He spent some months there in building, mak-
 ons at Do- ing spacious gardens, and in hunting, then re-
 lipoor. turned to Dolipoor, ordering Soliman, the son of Firmilli, to succour Hussien Chan. Soliman very imprudently told the King, that he could not prevail upon himself to leave the presence. This expression threw Secunder into a violent rage, and he forthwith ordered him from his service and camp by next morning at day-light, or that otherwise all his effects should be given to the soldiers as public plunder.

Reduces Much about this time, Bogit Chan, governor
 Chinderi. of Chinderi, who held that place of the King of Malava, seeing the weakness of his own prince, turned his face to Secunder. That monarch sent Amad ul Muluck to support Bogit in his rebellion. He soon after returned to Agra, and issued a proclamation bearing the submission of Bogit, and his own consequent right to that country. He sent more troops and omrahs to Chinderi, who entirely settled it as an appendage of the empire. Bogit found matters carried on in his government in such a manner, that he was constrained to resign his office, and come to court.

Peace in After this, we find no transactions worthy of
 the empire. memory in the empire, till the year nine hundred and twenty-two. Ali Nagori, suba of Suifuper, in that year prevailed upon Dowlat, governor of Rintimpore, which he then held of Malava, to deliver the fort to Secunder, if that monarch should come in person to take possession of it. Secunder, with great joy, closed with the proposal, and set out towards Biana, to which place the governor of Rintimpore came to meet him, and

and was graciously received. But Ali, who had been disappointed in some favors which he expected for bringing this matter to bear, resolved still to prevent the accomplishment of it. He had so much influence upon the governor, that he made him retract his promise about giving up the fort, though he had put himself in the Sultan's power. The Sultan having found out the cause of this change, disgraced Ali, and deprived him of his government, but was obliged to return to Agra without succeeding in his design upon Rintimpore, setting the governor at liberty, notwithstanding he had so egregiously deceived him.

To Agra the King summoned all the distant omrahs together, with an intention to reduce Gualier. But he was, in the midst of his preparations, in the year nine hundred and twenty three, taken ill of a quinsy, of which he died, having reigned, with great reputation and ability, twenty eight years and five months. The parts, which he exhibited, during his reign, justified the choice of his father, who singled him out, though a younger son, as the person most capable to support a title to which his family had no claim, by inheritance.

A great revolution happened in Persia, during the reign of Secunder in Hindostan. Ismael Sofi, having reduced the western provinces of Persia, possessed himself of Chorassan and the western Tartary, by the defeat and death of Shubiani, the Usbee, who had dispossessed the family of Timur of those countries. The famous Sultan Baber, in the mean time, continued to reign in Cabul and the provinces towards the Indus,

A. D. 1509.
Hig. 915.

Dies

State of
Asia
at the death
of Secun-
der.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

I B R A H I M II.

A, D, 1516.
Hig. 922.
Ibrahim
proud and
arrogant.

SECUNDER dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim * immediately succeeded him in the throne. This prince, contrary to the maxims and policy of his father and grandfather, behaved himself with insupportable pride and arrogance to his friends and family. One foolish expression of his was, that kings had no relations, but that every body should be the slaves of royalty. The omrahs, of the tribe of Lodi, who were always before honoured with a seat in the presence, were now constrained to stand by the throne, with their hands crossed before them. They were so much disgusted with this insolence, that they privately became his enemies.

A conspi-
racy.

The empire
divided.

A conspiracy therefore was formed, by the omrahs of Lodi, in which it was agreed to leave Ibrahim in possession of Delhi, and a few dependent provinces, and to place the prince Jellal, his brother, upon the throne of Jionpoor. Jellal marched from Calpie, by the aid and advice of the disaffected omrahs, and mounted the throne of Jionpoor. He appointed his cousin Fatte Chan his vizier, who brought over all the omrahs of the Eastern provinces to his interest.

Jehan Lohani came at that time from Beri, to congratulate Ibrahim upon his accession, and, in a very high strain, began to blame the omrahs for dividing the empire, which, he said, would

* His titles were, Sultan Ibrahim Ben Sultan Secunder.

be attended with many evil consequences to the family of Lodi. The omrahs, sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as Jellal could not be yet well established, to call him back, and so divest him of his new assumed royalty. They accordingly sent Hybut, with deceptions letters, to recal him, saying, that there was a scheme for him in agitation, and that it was necessary he should speedily come to support it.

But Hybut having over-acted his part, by flattery and importunity, Jellal suspected a plot against himself, and wrote them a genteel excuse. They, however, not discovering his jealousy, sent Firmilli and other omrahs to enforce the request of Hybut; but Jellal took no notice of their solicitations or intrigues. Ibrahim, and his omrahs, finding that these baits would not take with Jellal, issued a proclamation, declaring all the omrahs, who should join him, traitors to the state; at the same time sending presents and messengers to all the principal officers in those parts. These means had the desired effect, and the omrahs, on the side of Jellal, were brought over from his interest, by degrees. The affairs of Jellal declining in this manner, he saw that nothing but a resolute attempt could retrieve them. He accordingly inarching to Calpie, secured his family in that fort; and, collecting all his strength, assumed the title of emperor, under the title of Jellal ul Dien, and was determined to try his fortune in the field. He sent, at the same time, a trusty ambassador to Azim Ilumaoon, who held Callinger for Ibrahim, and had a great army in pay, to beg his assistance. Azim was prevailed upon to join him; and a resolution was formed, first to settle the countries about Jion-poor, and afterwards to think of affairs of still greater import. They accordingly marched,

A D 1516.
11g 922.
Designs to
reunite it.

The om-
rahs en-
deavour in-
vain to in-
velgle Jellal
from Jion-
poor

A. D. 1518.
Hig. 924.

with all expedition, against Mubarick Lodi, suba of Oud, whom they drove to Lucknore.

Ibrahim hearing of these transactions, marched his army to that quarter, sending his other brothers, in confinement, to Haffi, where he pensioned them for life. Upon his march towards Oud, he was informed that Azim Humaioon had deserted Jellal, and was now upon his way to meet him, which gave him great joy. He sent some omrahs to escort him to his camp, where he was very favourably received. A number of other omrahs, of those parts, joined Ibrahim; and he dispatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Humaioon Lodi, against his brother. But before Azim could come up with Jellal, he threw a garrison into Calpie, and, with thirty thousand horse, gave him the slip, and marched directly towards Agra; while Azim laid siege to Calpie. Jellal had it now in his power either to take possession of, or to plunder, the treasury. But he seems to have been perfectly infatuated. Adam, who was in the city with a small garrison, not only prevailed upon him to relinquish that advantage, but amused him with hopes of his brother's favor, till he sent him all his ensigns of royalty. Adam went so far as to promise to Jellal the government of Calpie, and other advantages, without having any powers of treating from the king.

Jellal
marches to
Agra.

and flies to
Gualier.

Adam sent the whole to Ibrahim, and acquainted him of every particular. But the king having now taken Calpie, and the treaty being concluded without his authority, he took no notice of it, but marched against Jellal, who, now deserted by his army for his pusillanimity, was obliged to fly to Gualier, and solicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim came to Agra, where he remained to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of Secunder,

Secunder, had fallen into great confusion. The omrah Karim was sent to take charge of Delhi, and Mungu to Chunderi. A. D. 1519
Hig. 925.

About this time, the king, without any apparent reason, conceived a disgust at Mialh Boah, who was formerly vizier to Secunder, and put him in chains, conferring at the same time great honours upon his son. He then formed a resolution of reducing Gualier, ordering Azim Hummaoon to march from Kurrah against it, with thirty thousand horse, and three hundred elephants. Seven other omrahs, with armies, were sent to reinforce Azim. Jellal, who had taken refuge in Gualier, being intimidated, fled to the king of Malava. The imperial army arriving before Gualier, invested the place, and in a few days raja Man Sing, who was a prince of great valour and capacity, died, and his son Bickernagit succeeded him in the rajaship. After the siege had been carried on some months, the army of Ibrahim at length possessed themselves of an outwork at the foot of the hill, upon which the fort, called Badilgur, stood. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been a long time worshipped there, and sent it to Agra; from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Delhi, and placed at the gate of Bagdat. An army
sent against
Gualier

The unfortunate Jellal, who had gone over to king Mahmood of Malava, not being well received there, fled to the raja of Kurykatka, but was seized upon by the way, and sent prisoner to Ibrahim's camp. Ibrahim pretended to send him prisoner to Ilassi, but gave private orders to assassinate him upon the way, which was accordingly done.—What are those charms in power, which could induce a man to shed the blood of a brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with the death of Jellal; he imbrued his hands in the blood of several omrahs of great distinction. He called Jellal taken
and assassinated

A. D. 1519. Azim Sirwani from Gualier, when just upon the point of taking the place, imprisoned him and his son Fatte, turning out his other son Islam from the subaship of Kurrah. But when Islam had heard of his father's and brother's imprisonment, and of his own disgrace, he erected the standard of rebellion, defeating Ahmed who was sent to take his government. The Sultan having received advices of the reduction of Gualier, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn all his power to suppress the rebellion at Kurrah. Azim Humaioon and Seid, after the reduction of the place, were permitted to go to their jagiers at Lucknore; where, joining the interest of Islam, they stirred up more disturbances.

A rebellion. Ibrahim placing very little dependence upon the fidelity of the troops which he had near him, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his standards. He, in the mean time, conferred great favours upon Ahmed, the brother of Azim Humaioon, and giving him the command of the army, sent him against Islam. Ahmed having arrived in the environs of Kin-noge, Eckbal, a dependent of Azim Sirwani, rushed out from an ambush with five thousand horse, and having cut off a number of the imperial troops, made good his retreat. The king was greatly exasperated against Ahmed, upon receiving intelligence of this defeat. He wrote to him not to expect his favor, if he did not quickly exterminate the rebels; at the same time, by way of precaution, sending another army to support him. The rebels were now about forty thousand strong in cavalry, besides five hundred elephants, and a great body of infantry. When Ahmed had received the reinforcement which we have mentioned, and the two armies came in sight of each other, raja Bochari, who was esteemed

teemed the first man for parts in that age, was desirous of bringing affairs to an amicable accommodation. Overtures being made, the rebels consented to dismiss their army, upon condition that Azim Sirwani should be set at liberty. Ibrahim would not hearken to these terms. He sent orders to Dirai Lohani, governor of Behar, to Nisir Lohani, and Firmilli, to advance from that quarter, against the rebels. The insurgents foolishly permitted themselves to be amused till the armies from Behar joined. The treaty being then broke off, they were reduced either to fly or fight upon unequal terms.

They resolved upon the latter, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged on by despair and resentment, they did justice to valor, and were upon the point of defeating the imperialists, when Islam was killed, and Seid dismounted and taken. These unfortunate accidents discouraging the troops, they stopped short, and soon after turned their face to flight. Their dominions, treasure, and baggage, fell at once into the hands of the king. The rebels
thrown.

Ibrahim now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the omrahs of Secunder, and many of them were barbarously put to death. Azim Humaioon Sirwani, Mial Borli, and others, who were in confinement, were, at the same time, assassinated, and fear and terror took possession of every heart. These cruelties and assassinations gave rise to another rebellion. Dirai Lohani, suba of Behar, Jehan Lodi, and Firmilli, turned their heads from the yoke of obedience. Ibrahim having received intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to the saints of Chunderi, to take off Firmilli, suba of that country, and these holy persons accordingly assassinated him in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's baseness and tyranny,

A. D. 1519. ranny, served only to create him more ene-
 Hig. 925. rnies.

Another
 rebellion.

Dirai, of the tribe of Lodi, suba of Beria, died about this time, and his son of the same name, assumed the title of emperor, under the name of Mahommed, with all the ensigns of royalty. He was joined by all the discontented omrahs, and found himself at the head of a hundred thousand horse, with which he took possession of all the countries as far as Simbol, defeating the imperial troops in repeated engagements. Ghazi Lodi came about this time with the army from Lahore, by the Sultan's orders. But having heard of his tyrannies, by the way, he was apprehensive of danger to himself, and returned to his father, Dowlat, at Lahore. Dowlat, seeing no safety but in extremity, revolted from the Sultan, and solicited Baber, the mogul, who then reigned in Cabul, to come to the conquest of Hindostan. The first thing, however, that Dowlat did, was to obtain from Baber, Alla, the brother of Ibrahim, now in the service of Cabul. Supporting him, as a cover to his measures, with his whole force, he reduced the country as far as Delhi. Alla was joined by the omrahs of those parts, so that his army now consisted of upwards of forty thousand horse, with which he invested Delhi. Ibrahim resolved to march against him, but when he came within six crores of Alla's army, he was surprized by that prince in the night. A confused and tumultuous fight was maintained to day-light, when Ibrahim found that he was deserted by some of his omrahs, who had joined Alla. Ibrahim observing, in the morning, that the troops of Alla were dispersed, in plundering the royal camp, rallied a number of his troops, and the greatest part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and drove him off the field, with great slaughter. Ibrahim entered Delhi in triumph,

triumph, and Alla, seeing no hopes of reducing ^{A D 1525} it, retreated to Punjaab. ^{H 6.932.}

In the year nine hundred and thirty-two, no remarkable event happened in the empire, till Baber drew his army against Ibrahim, as will be hereafter related at large, overthrew him in the field of Panniput, deprived him of his life and kingdom, and transferred the empire from the Afghan tribe of Lodi, to the family of Timur. Ibrahim reigned twenty years: a cruel, proud, and wicked prince, though possessed of ordinary parts, and extremely brave.

For the first eight years of the emperor Ibra- ^{State of} him, Ismael, the first of the Soffi family, reigned ^{Asia.} in Persia. He was succeeded by his son Shaw Tamasp, who acceded to the Persian throne, upon the death of his father, which happened in the nine hundred and thirtieth of the Higera.

B A B E R *.

A. D. 1525
Hig. 937.
Of the family of
Baber.

AB U S E I D, who held the titles of the mogul empire in the western Tartary, and in Choraslan, dying in Irac †, left eleven sons, Ahmed, Mahmood, Mahommed, Sharoch, Ali, Amer Shech, Abubekir, Murad, Chilili, Mirza Willid, and Amer ‡. Four of the brothers arrived to the dignity of kings; Ali to the throne of Cabul; Ahmed to the kingdom of Samarcand; Amer to the united thrones of Indija and Firghana; and Mahmood to those of Kundiz and Buduchshan. Eunos, king of Mogulstan, gave to each of those four kings one of his daughters in marriage, excepting to Ali. Amer, by Catlick Negar, the daughter of Eunos, had a son, whom he named Baber, born in the year eight hundred and eighty eight. The relation between Timur § and Baber, is this: Sultan Abu Seid, the grandfather of Baber, was the son of Mahommed, the son of Miran Shaw, and grandson of Timur, lord of ages.

Baber's uncommon
genius.

Baber, when as yet but twelve years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon at that age, that his father Amer gave him the kingdom of Indija;

* His titles at length were, Zehir ul Dien Mahommed Baber.

† One of the provinces of Persia.

‡ It is to be observed, that Ferishta prefixed the title of Mirza Sultan, which signifies Prince, to every one of the eleven sons of Abu Seid, on account of their being descended from Timur Bec, in the fourth degree.

§ Tamerlane,

and,

and, when Amer, upon Monday, the fourth of ^{A. D. 1535.} Ramzan, in the eight hundred and ninety ninth ^{His 932.} of the Higera, fell, by an accident, from the roof of a pigeon-house, and was killed, Baber was advanced to the throne, and assumed the title of ^{Succeeds} protector of the faith. ^{his father.}

Ahmed, and Mahmood, the uncles of Baber, ^{Besieged by} led their armies against him, to be revenged of ^{Ahmed, &c.} him, in his nonage, for the war of his father against them, hoping by the advantage which the accession of a child might afford, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves. But an accident defeated their ambitious designs. After besieging him in the capital of Indija, there happened so great a mortality among their troops and cavalry, that they were glad to enter into treaty, and to raise the siege. Ahmed died upon his way to Samarcand*.

The kings of Cassigar and Chutan, both of the ^{Reduces} family of Timur, soon after drew a great army ^{some rebel-} towards the borders of Orgund, and made war ^{ious govern-} upon Baber; but he obliged them to retreat. He, at this time, appointed Hassen governor of Indija, who was not faithful to his trust. He rebelled in the year nine hundred, but Baber marched against him, and obliged him to fly towards Samarcand. In the same year, Ibrahim Sarid, the governor of Ashira, rebelled, and read the chutba in the name of Beisinker, the son of Ahmed, who had succeeded to the throne of Samarcand. Baber marched against him, and besieged him in

* The city of Samarcand is situated in latitude 41° 20', and in longitude 95. It is the chief town of Maver-ul-nevve, or Transoxiana. It is much fallen off from its ancient splendor, though it is still a considerable and populous city. A good trade is driven on there, in several manufactures, especially silk paper, peculiar to that town.

"Ashira,

A. D. 1495.
Hig. 901.

Ashira, which he reduced in the space of forty days; and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword and coffin before him. Baber, however, forgave him, and marched to Chojind, and from thence to Sharuchia, to meet his uncle Mahmood, with whom he was now reconciled. He remained with Mahmood a few days, and then returned to Indija.

Besieges
Artaba to
no purpose.

Baisinker, king of Samarcand, having possessed himself of Artaba, which was a long time the property of Amer, the father of Baber; that prince resolved to retake the place, and marched accordingly with his army against it, the very next season. Zulnoon, who held it on the part of the king of Samarcand, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliged Baber to raise the siege, and return to Indija.

Marches
towards
Samarcand.

Baber, in the year following, drew his army towards Samarcand, being in alliance with Ali, the brother of Baisinker, and king of Bochara; for the former endeavoured to recover from the latter the kingdom of Samarcand. The confederate kings not being able to reduce Samarcand that year, they returned home for the winter season, and made great preparations for another campaign. Both the kings, accordingly, in the year nine hundred and two, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarcand. Sultan Ali reached Samarcand first, and Baisinker advanced without the city, and encamped before him; but, upon Baber's arrival, he retreated within his walls in the night. Eulu Chaja, who was going the rounds of Baber's camp, discovered the retreat of Baisinker, and falling upon his rear, put a great number to the sword. Baber laid siege to a fort, called Ashira, at a small distance from the city, and took it. The confederates, after this success, attacked Samarcand, which was defended with great bravery, till winter obliged them

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them to raise the siege, and retire to quarters, ^{A D. 1456.}
till the ensuing season. ^{His 902.}

Aliu turned to Bochara, and Baber to a place ^{Takes that}
called Chajadidar. Shubiani, king of the Uzbeks ^{city}
of Turkestan, upon his march from his own dominions, to join the king of Samarcand, came before Baber, but he thought proper to make the best of his way for Samarcand. Shubiani and Baifinker quarrelled soon after, and the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much distressed Baifinker, that, with a small retinue, he went in person to beg the assistance of Chufero, king of Kunduz, also of the posterity of Timur, while Baber, seizing this opportunity, hastened to Samarcand, and in the year nine hundred and three, entered the city without opposition, and mounted the throne, being acknowledged by the greatest part of the omrahs.

But as Baber had taken the place by capitulation, and forbid all manner of plunder, the army, to whom he was greatly in arrears, and who served him only for the hopes of booty, began to disperse. The moguls, who were commanded by one Ibrahim, went off in a body, and were followed by several other chiefs, with their whole dependents, to Achsi, where Jehangire, the brother of Baber, commanded. Jehangire, by the aid of the deserters, and that of a prince, called Ozin Hassen, declared himself king of Indija. He wrote, by way of sneer to his brother, that as Baber had subdued the kingdom of Samarcand, he begged to be indulged with that of Indija. Baber having received this message, gave way to his passion, and, in blaming the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw some reflections upon those who remained. The omrahs resented this behaviour, by abandoning him, and joining his brother. Baber, in the utmost distress, sent Eulu Chaja to endeavour to reconcile

Deserted by
his army.

A. D. 1496. reconcile the omrahs to him again, but they sent
 Hig 902. a party to way-lay the embassador, and cut him to pieces.

His misfor-
 tunes.

The omrahs Ali and Molana, in the mean time, threw a garrison into the fort of Indija, and continued to hold it out for Baber. The faithful omrahs sent advice to Baber of their situation; but, unfortunately at this time, he was taken extremely ill, that, not able to swallow any thing, he barely existed by having moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he had recovered his health, and found the pressing situation of his affairs in Indija, he determined to run the risque of losing Samarcand, rather than his paternal dominions, and accordingly directed his march homewards. But Ali Dooft, and his friends in Indija, having heard that Baber was certainly dead, had capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangire. This traitor assassinated Molana, and, mounting the throne, read the chutba in his own name.

Samarcand
 revolts.

This disagreeable intelligence, and other advices, that the Samarcandians had revolted, were, at once, brought to Baber, upon his march, which threw him into the utmost distress, having now lost both kingdoms. He sent, as his last resource, Amir Casim to Tashcund, to entreat the assistance of his uncle Mahmood. That monarch hastened to Jilka, where he and Baber met; but an emissary, at the same time, came to Mahmood, from Jehangire, who managed matters so well, that Mahmood left his two nephews to settle their own differences, and returned to Tashcund. This unexpected blow had such an effect upon the affairs of Baber, that they now appeared so desperate, that of all his army, in a few days only forty horsemen remained with him, to conquer two kingdoms. In this forlorn situation he re-
 treated

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treated to Chojind. He wrote from thence to A.D. 1491
 Mahommed Hussein, at Artaba, acquainting him, 111g. 904.
 that the place in which he was then could not pro-
 tect him from the fury of his enemies; he there-
 fore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass
 the winter at Bishaer. Hussein consented to this
 request; and Baber accordingly took up his quar-
 ters there. He began to recruit a new army,
 writing to all the friends he could think of, to
 join him.

After a few were gathered round his standard, ^{He takes}
 he considered that his future fortune depended en- ^{the field}
 tirely upon the reputation of his arms, and re- ^{with a few.}
 solved to employ them against his enemies. He,
 therefore, hastened to Barnilack, where he took
 some forts by assault, and some by stratagem.
 But these petty exploits were of little service to
 him, for his affairs bore still a very ruinous af-
 fect, which threw him into great perplexity.
 He received, in the mean time, agreeable tidings
 from Ali Dooft, begging his forgiveness, and in-
 forming him that he was in possession of the gar-
 rison of Marinan, and if Baber should come to
 take possession of it, he would number himself
 among his slaves. Baber did not hesitate to ac-
 cept this offer, and arriving at the place, he met
 Ali Dooft at the gate, who put him into pos-
 session of the fort, and supplied his finances. Ba-
 ber immediately sent Amer Cassim towards the
 mountains of Indija, and Ibrahim Sara and Vifs
 Laghiri towards Achsi, to endeavour to bring
 over friends to his party. This measure had the
 desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indija were
 gained to the interest of Baber, while Ibrahim
 Sara and Vifs Laghiri settled matters with
 the governor of the fort of Baab, and two or
 three more, who declared for Baber. The nego-
 tiations

His affairs
 begin to
 wear a fa-
 vourable as-
 pect.

A, D, 1498.
Hig. 904.

tiations of that prince succeeded, at the same time, at the court of his uncle Mahmood, of Bochara, who marched to join him.

Jehangire
besieges him
in Marinan.

Jehangire, having received intelligence of the proceedings at Marinan, and of the efforts of Baber to raise an army, marched with his forces towards that place, and sat down before it. He detached, at the same time, part of his army towards Achfi, who falling in with Mahmood, were defeated, with great slaughter. When Jehangire received these advices, he was struck with embarrassment, and retreated to Indija. But Nasirbeg, the son-in-law of Ozin Hassen, who had now the government of that city, seeing the favourable aspect of Baber's affairs, by the junction of Mahmood, and several parties of Usbecks, determined not to admit Jehangire, and immediately sent a messenger to hasten Baber to take possession of the place. This check ruined the affairs of Jehangire, for immediately his army began to disperse, while he himself took the way to Ost, and Ozin Hassen that of Achfi.

Baber recovers his dominions.

Baber, by this time, advanced to Indija, and took possession of that city, conferring honors upon his friends; and thus the capital of Firghana was, in the year nine hundred and four, restored to its former administration. Upon the fourth day after the arrival of Baber, he set out for Achfi, where Ozin Hassen capitulated, and was permitted to retire to Hissaar, Casim Ogib being appointed governor of the place. The king returned to Indija, with the greatest part of Ozin Hassen's troops, who enlisted themselves under his victorious banners. But the forces of Hassen having, upon a former occasion, plundered several persons, then in the king's army, of their effects, a complaint was made to Baber, and orders were issued to restore the plunder to the proper owners.

The

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The moguls, unwilling to comply with this order, A.D. 1479.
 mounted their horses, and, to a man, set out for
 Orgund, where they joined Jehangire and Ah-
 med Timbol, by which they were again in a con-
 dition to march against Indija. The king sent a
 general to oppose them, who was defeated with
 great slaughter, many of the king's principal om-
 rals being slain, and several taken prisoners.

The enemy advanced with all expedition, and
 laid siege to Indija for the space of thirty days,
 but as they could effect nothing against it, they
 marched towards Ouse. The king having re-
 cruited his army, marched in the year nine hun-
 dred and five, towards Ouse, while the enemy,
 by another road, made a push towards Indija. Indija before-
 Baber, however, trusting to his friends in that
 city, and the strength of the place, marched to
 Badwerd, a strong fort in the possession of Chi-
 lili, brother to Ahmed Timbol. Chilili defend-
 ed the place with great resolution, but at length
 was forced to a capitulation, by the terms of
 which, he was exchanged for the king's friends,
 who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

Ahmed Timbol, in the mean time, made an attempt
 to scale the walls of Indija in the night, The enemy
 but was repulsed with great loss. Baber, by
 this time, returning to that place, took a strong
 post by the banks of the river. He encamped
 before the enemy for the space of forty days, and
 then determined to attack their camp, though
 with great disadvantage. After an obstinate and
 bloody resistance, the rebels were driven out of
 their trenches, and dispersed. The king, after
 the victory, entered the city in triumph. Baber
 was informed in Indija, that six thousand horse
 from Mahmud, king of Bochara, whose policy
 it was to weaken both parties, had come to the
 assistance of Jehangire, and had sat down before
 Cashan.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A.D. 1499.
Hig. 905.

Casban. The king, though it was now the middle of winter, in severe frost and snow, marched that way, upon which the allies retreated to their own country. Timbol, who was upon his march to join the rebels, fell in accidentally with the King, in a situation where he could not escape, had not the night favoured his retreat; by which means he went off with little loss. The King pursued him under the walls of Bishare, and encamped in sight.

A peace between Baber and his brother Jehangire.

Upon the fourth day, Ali Dooft and Cumber Ali, prevailed upon the King to make proposals of accommodation. The terms were immediately agreed upon; that Jehangire should keep possession of all the country between the river Chajand and Achsi; and that the kingdom of Indija, and the districts of Orgund, should remain to Baber; that if the latter should ever recover the kingdom of Samarcand, he should give up Indija to Jehangire. After these terms of pacification were solemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the prisoners upon both sides were set at liberty. The King returned to Indija, where Ali Dooft, who was a man of great wealth and power, had begun to exert unbounded authority. He banished some and imprisoned others, without the King's permission; while his son, Mahommed took a princely state upon himself. The King, upon account of his great influence, and the numerous enemies which environed his dominions, was constrained to dissemble his resentment.

In the mean time, Mazidir, an omrah of Ali, who by the removal of his brother Baifinker, reigned in Samarcand, apprehensive of danger from his master, joined Bijan Mirza the son of Mahmood, and carried him against Samarcand.

inviting him to the conquest of that kingdom. A. D. 1497.
M. 7. 473.
Baber's ex-
pedition to
Samarcand. Baber embraced the proposal, and drew his army towards Samarcand. Mazidllir having joined Baber upon his march, it was resolved in council to send a person to sound Chaja Liah, who had almost the whole power of Samarcand in his hands. He returned them for answer, that they might march towards the city, and whatever was found then most advisable, should be done. In the mean time, Dildai, one of Timur's posterity, who commanded a tribe in Baber's camp, left his post without any apparent reason, fled to Samarcand, and acquainted the enemy of the correspondence with Chaja Liah, which disconcerted their measures. His veteran troops crowded to the King's standard, making complaints against Ali Dooft. Baber, therefore, determined to dismiss him from his presence, so that he and his son went over to Ahmed Timbul but in a few days he died.

At this time Shubiani, King of the Usbecks, had taken Buchara, and was upon full march to conquer Samarcand, which Ali was advised to relinquish to him. Baber, upon hearing this news, went to Kish, and from thence to Hissar, where Masidllir, and the omrahs of Samarcand, despairing of taking that city, left him, and went to Chusero, King of Kunduz. Baber, after this desertion, was obliged to take the way to Sirtack, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most part of his camels and horses. Baber's de-
sertion by his
whole army,
except two
hundred
and forty
men. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted him by the time he reached Barnilack, except two hundred and forty men.

Any man but Baber would have now despaired of success in his designs; but though he had left

A.D. 1499. a kingdom to which he might have still returned,
 Hig. 905. his ambition prompted him to run the risque of
 His daring attempt up- a young adventurer for another. He according-
 on Samar- ly marched directly for Samarcand, with this
 cand. small retinue, with an intention to get into that
 city, without being discovered. His hopes were,
 that he could raise a faction among his friends,
 while yet the city was in disorder. He entered
 Samarcand in the dusk of the evening, and went
 to Eurit Chan's house, but in a few minutes his
 arrival was whispered about, and the whole city
 began to be in an uproar. Baber, as his scheme
 was not ripe for execution, thought it high time
 to make his escape, which he did accordingly,
 without any loss.

Obliged to
 retreat.

His dream

After he had got clear of the city, he looked
 back and repented of his precipitate flight. He
 immediately stopped in a grove, where, being
 wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid him-
 self down upon the ground to sleep, as did the
 greatest part of his retinue. In about an hour he
 awaked from a dream, in which he imagined he
 saw Abdalla, a dirvesh of great repute, coming
 towards his house. He thought that he invited
 the dirvesh to sit down, upon which his steward
 spread a table cloth before him, at which the dir-
 vesh seemed greatly offended†, and rose to go
 away. The king begged he would excuse him, as
 the offence was committed by a servant. The
 dirvesh, upon this, took him by the arm, and
 held him up towards the sky, upon which he a-
 woke, and calling up his attendants, related his
 dream, and determined to make an attempt im-
 mediately upon Samarcand.

† The Orientals never eat abroad without a formal invitation ;
 besides, these independent dirveshes live upon rice and water,
 and will not condescend to be entertained by princes.

Baber's small party having mounted their horses, returned and reached the bridge about midnight. He detached eighty of his men before to a low part of the wall, near the Lovers Cave, which they scaled by the help of a hook-rope, and coming round to the gate and, falling upon the guard commanded by Casiter Chan, killed and dispersed them. They immediately set open the gate, and admitted the king and his small party. The city was alarmed; but the party proclaiming the name of Baber, as they passed through the streets, all who were his friends flocked to him, while his enemies, not knowing his strength, ran distracted from place to place to join their leaders. In a short time the alarm reached the house of Chaja Eiah, where seven thousand Usbecks were quartered. They rushed out, and joined Shubiani their King, who, with eight thousand more of his nation, lay in the citadel of Didar. Shubiani, with one hundred and fifty men, commanding the rest to wait for orders, set out for the iron gate, but seeing he could do nothing with that handful, he retreated. Baber, in the mean time, attended by some thousands, who rent the sky with acclamations, followed him so close, that Shubiani could not, either by words or example, make one of the Usbecks stand his ground. He therefore followed them out of the opposite gate, and fled towards Bochara, and Samarcand immediately submitted to Baber..

This action, if we consider the strength of the place, the troops it contained, the alarm that had been spread in the evening, the small number who attempted it, the uncertainty of being joined by the citizens, and many other difficul-

A. D. 1502. decamped from before the confederate princes,
 Hig. 908. and hastened back to cover Indija.

Defeated by Timbol. Timbol happened, by accident, to fall in with Baber's camp, when the troops were out foraging; and defeated him. The King escaped, wounded, to Osh, while Timbol threw himself into Indija, and prepared for a defence. The next day, the allied army of Mahmood and Ahmed appeared in sight, and sat down before the place, where they were joined soon after by Baber. Some time after, the inhabitants of Achfi called the king, and put him in possession of that place; but the allied princes, not being able to reduce Indija, raised the siege.

Totally defeated by Shubiani.

In the mean time, Shubiani, King of the Ufbecks, fearing the success of Baber, advanced from Samarcand with a very great army, towards Achfi. Baber immediately joined his allies, and they prepared to receive him. But in this action, which was very obstinate and bloody, the fortune of Shubiani prevailed, and both the uncles of Baber were taken prisoners. The King escaped to Mogulistan, and the kingdom of Tashcund fell into the hands of Shubiani, which greatly augmented his power. Shubiani, some time after, dismissed the two brothers, but Mahmood retired, and fell into a deep melancholy. When one of his friends told him, that Shubiani had poisoned him, and begged to supply him with some famous theriac of Chitta, as a powerful preventive of the effects of poisons; the prince replied, "Yes! Shubiani has poisoned me, indeed! he has taken my Kingdom, which is not in the power of your theriac to restore."

He asks advice of Backer.

Baber left Mogulistan, and came to Shudma, and from thence proceeded to Turmuz, in the neighbourhood of Balich, where Backer, prince of that place, who was uneasy at the great power of

of the Usbecks, glad of Baber's alliance, who still ^{A O 112 9 3} had the command of an army, received him with great kindness and respect, and gave him large presents. Baber said to him, upon this occasion, That being a long time the football of fortune, and like a piece of wood on a chess board, moved from place to place, vagrant as the moon in the sky, and restless as the stone upon the bench, he would therefore be glad of his friendly advice, as he had been so unsuccessful in his own resolves. Bacher replied, That, however incapable he was to advise him, he would not withhold his opinion, which was, that, as Shubirni was now in full possession of Baber's kingdom, and many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it would be more advisable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere, particularly in Cabulistan, which was now in a state of anarchy.

The King followed this advice, and in the year nine hundred and ten, marched towards Cabul†. Passing, in his way, through the dominions of Chusero, King of Kunduz, he was entertained by him with great hospitality, for which, we are sorry to relate, our hero made a ^{rather a} very bad return. During the time that Baber re- ^{side} sided there, he stirred up a faction in Chusero's court, and gained over seven thousand of his troops to his own interest. This plot being discovered, Chusero, with a few servants, was obliged to abandon his capital and fly, leaving his troops, his treasure, and every thing in the possession of Baber. Baber did not fail to avail himself of these advantages. He marched immediately towards Cabul, which had been in possession of Rysac, the son of Ali, Baber's uncle, who was then in his minority. One Zicca, exerting too much authority in the country at that time, ^{omirahs,}

† The city of Cabul is the capital of the province of Cabulistan

A.D. 1504.
Hig. 910.

omrahs, who assassinated him in the month of Zihidge. This circumstance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom; for Mokîm, the son of Amir Zuluôn, prince of Garrimsere, took advantage of the intestine divisions of the Cabulians, and invaded them, forcing Rysac to take shelter among the Afghâns: he himself took possession of that country, and married the sister of the former prince.

Baber
seizes upon
Cabulistan.

Affairs being in this situation, Baber arrived upon the borders of Cabul, and driving Mokîm out of the field, forced him to take refuge in the capital, which Baber besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve that country, as dominions belonging to himself. In the year nine hundred and eleven, Cabulistan was thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes, which laid most of the cities in ruins: Baber endeavoured to alleviate this public calamity in such a manner, by his unwearied care and extensive benevolence, that he gained the love and fidelity of all his new subjects. The restless genius of Baber could not lie quiet. His aspiring disposition began to extend his views to conquest: He accordingly led an army against the Argôns of Kandahar, and deprived them of the strong fort of Killât, establishing an alliance with Buddiulzemân, a prince of the race of Timur, in possession of Herât. He marched in the same year to Kufsluckât, which he brought into subjection, and gave the government of Ghizni, which, from a great empire, was diminished into an inconsiderable province, to his brother Jehangire.

istan in the mountains, between Persia and India. It is situated in 34 degrees of latitude, and is one of the finest towns in that part of Asia. Cabul is the depository and staple of the commodities, which pass from India into Persia and Great Bucharïa, and is consequently rich and populous. It is at present subject to Ahmed Abdalla.

In the year nine hundred and twelve, Baber A.D. 1506.
1126. 91.
March 1310 marched inwards Chorrassan to join Hussein Chorrassan. Mirza, who, ashamed of his former behaviour, and irritated by fresh injuries from Shubiani, now proposed to Baber, that they should join in alliance against him. But when Baber had reached Nimrofa, he heard of Hussein's death. He proceeded, however, to Chorrassan, and endeavoured to stir up the princes and omrahs against the Usbecks. He was not able to effect his purpose, and he therefore returned, by the way of Herat, towards Cabul. The snows were, at that time, very deep, and prevented his passage over the hills, which obliged him to canton his troops in Hazara.

When Baber was thus constrained to remain In fact in-
stead of Cabul. at Hazara, Hussein Gurgan, Birlafs, and other mongul omrahs, joining with Mirza his cousin, raised him to the throne of Cabul, by promoting false intelligence of the King's death. But when the news of his return reached the people, they rebelled against the new government, and as soon as the season permitted his approach, stocked to his standard, put all the garrisons into his hands except the capital, where Mirza and his adherents Quelled. sustained a short siege, and then capitulated. The principal persons concerned in the revolt, were expelled the country. About this time Nasir, the Sultan's youngest brother, who held the government of Buduchshan, being defeated by one of the generals of Shubiani, took refuge at Cabul, and as Jehangire had killed himself by hard drinking, his government of Ghizni was now conferred upon Nasir.

In the year nine hundred and thirteen, Baber Baber invl-
ed to Kan-
dahar. marched against the Afghans of Ghalingi, who infested his country and took from them one hundred thousand sheep, and some thousands of other

A D. 1507.
Hig. 913. other cattle, and returned. The omrahs of the house of Argôn, being greatly oppressed by the Usbecks, wrote to Baber, at this time, that if he would march that way, they would put him in possession of Kandahar*. The Sultan did not hesitate to comply with their request. He immediately set out, and, as he was passing Kilat, Mirza begged the favour of being admitted into his presence, and, receiving his pardon, accompanied him. When he had reached the borders of Kandahar, he wrote to Shaw Beg and Mokim, that he was so far upon his way, according to their desire, and that, therefore, he expected to see them in his camp. Since the time of their writing to Baber, some alterations in their politicks had made them repent of the application they had made, so that instead of receiving the king in a friendly manner, they prepared for war, and desired he would return home. But Baber determined not to suffer such an indignity with impunity. He marched forward, and engaged them at the village of Gillishack, near the city of Kandahar, defeated them with great slaughter, and cutting off their retreat from the city, Shaw Beg fled to Saul, and Mokim towards Dawir. Baber immediately laid siege to the city, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Zulnon, which he divided, by weight, amongst his officers and troops, according to their respective stations. He left Nasir, his brother in the government of Kandahar and Dawir, and then returned in triumph to Cabul.

The Us-
becks in-
vade Kan-
dahar.

Mokim having, this very year, complained to Shubiani, the Usbeck, prevailed upon him to en-

* Kandahar is the capital of a small province near Cabulistan. It was alternately possessed by the Moguls and Persians, till it was finally ceded to Nadir Shaw, in 1739.

gage in his behalf, and to march towards Kan-^{A. D. 1578.}
dahar. Nafir, upon receiving this intelligence, ^{11 g 914.}
shut himself up in the town, and sent expresses to
his brother for assistance. Baber wrote him to
defend the place as long as he could, but if he
should be driven to great distress, to capitulate,
and come to him at Cabul; for that, at the time,
he was in no condition to dispute the field with
Shubiani, whose forces and finances were greatly
superior; besides, that a defeat might ruin him
for ever, and overset all the projects he had
formed of raising himself a kingdom in Hindostan.
Nafir, according to these instructions, after he
could hold out no longer with propriety, capitu-
lated, and came to the king at Cabul. Shubiani,
after taking the place, gave it back to the sons of
Zulnon, and marched with his army towards
Chorassan. But no sooner had Shubiani evacua-
ted Kandahar, than the Argunials, a wild tribe,
made an incursion, and possessed themselves of the
place. This was an agreeable piece of news to
Baber, as they formed a barrier between him and
the Usbecks.

This year, upon the fourth of Zicar, Baber had ^{Humaon}
a son born to him in Cabul, whom he named ^{born.}
Humaon, who afterwards became emperor of
Hindostan. The Sultan, in the following year,
took the field against the Meinind Afghans, and,
during his absence, the moguls of Chusern, who
had been left to defend Cabul, revolted, and set
up again Rysac, the son of Ali, upon the throne.
The king was immediately deserted by the great-
est part of his army; for hearing of the rebellion
in Cabul, they hastened home to protect their fa-
milies, insomuch, that out of upwards of ten
thousand horse, which he carried to the field,
Baber had now scarce five hundred remaining in
his camp.

Notwith-

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1509.
Hig. 915.
Baber's
daring en-
terprize.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Baber boldly resolved to advance towards Cabul, with the few trusty friends he had left. Rysac, upon the Sultan's approach, came out of the city with an army ten or twelve thousand strong. The king, with his small troop, advanced towards them, and when he came near, ordered his party to halt. He himself rode close up to the rebel-army, and challenged Rysac to single combat; but, as he seemed to decline it, five omrahs, one after another, engaged him, and fell by his hand. The names of the omrahs were, Alli Shubcore, Alli Seiftani, Niser the Usbeck, Jacoob, and Usbeck Bahadar. This heroic behaviour struck the rebels with so much admiration and astonishment, that they refused to fight, by which means the usurper was taken. But so great was the king's clemency, that he pardoned him; but soon after, the just reward of a traitor.

Kills five
omrahs in
single com-
bat.

War be-
tween Per-
sia and the
Usbecks.

The country of Chusero, king of Kunduz, having fallen into the hands of the Usbecks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs sprung up in Buduchshan, of whom the principal was Zeiper. Chan Mirza, upon this, by the advice of his mother, Sha Begum, who traced her genealogy to the great Secunder*, began to entertain hopes, and to take measures to raise himself to that kingdom. Having previously obtained leave of Baber, he this year left Cabul; and, having raised a small army, advanced towards the borders of Buduchshan. But his mother, who came up in the rear, was attacked by a body of Kashgars, and carried off prisoner, while Chan Mirza was defeated, and obliged to give himself up to Zeiper, who kept him under guard. Eufoph Ali,

* Alexander the Great.

who had been an old servant of Mirza, formed a ^{A D 1511} conspiracy against Zeiper, and assassinated him, ^{112 117.} and Chan Mirza was raised to the throne by the people. In the year nine hundred and sixteen, Ismaiel Suffavi †, king of Persia, wrote to Shubiani to withdraw his troops from some of the skirts of his dominions, upon which he had begun to encroach, to root up the tree of contention, which produced bitter fruits, and to plant that of friendship, whose blossoms shed the most grateful perfume. Shubiani replied, That it was only for those who were descended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; that it was true, that Ismaiel, though the son of a Fakier, had raised himself to a kingdom, when there was no lord of seven nations around him, to oppose him; that therefore, it would be now adviseable for him to retire to his former obscurity, and that, for that purpose, he had sent him a staff and a beggar's dish for his inheritance; for that Shubiani only was worthy of possessing the bride of royalty, who durst kiss her through opposing swords. Ismaiel answered, That if empire was an inheritance, by what means was it so often violated, till it fell to his lot? for his own part, he had always considered the right of kings as founded upon power, and that the longest sword was the best title. That, with the latter, he was, at all times, ready to dispute with Shubiani; and that, though he himself had no opinion of contemptuous ostentation, yet in return for Shubiani's present, he had sent him a gridiron and spinning-wheel for his amusement. As for the rest, that Ismaiel would be his own messenger.

† The first of the Persian dynasty called corruptedly in Europe, the Sophis of Persia.

Having

A. D. 1511. Having dispatched this message, Ismaiel immediately collected his army, and marching eastward, subdued Chorassan, and advanced to Murve, before Shubiani could make the least opposition. Shubiani not being then prepared to engage Ismaiel, in the field, he shut himself up in Murve. But being severely reproached by Ismaiel, he marched out and gave him battle, in which he was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to get into a park, with about five hundred princes and principal officers, from whence he could find no outlet. He was attacked there by the king of Persia, and seeing no hope of escape left, he and his followers fought, refusing quarter, till every man of them was laid dead on the field.

Baber
marches
to recover
his dominions.

Chan Mirza immediately dispatched accounts of this important event from Buduchshan to Baber, and went himself to Kunduz; informing the king, that now was the time for recovering his former dominions. Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and seventeen, marched with all expedition, towards Hissar, crossing the Amu* with Chan Mirza. But a great army of Usbecks being encamped near that city, the moguls were obliged to retreat to Kunduz. Ismaiel, at this time, sent the Sultana Zada, Baber's sister, who had been taken in Samarcand by Shubiani, and afterwards married by him, with all her effects, to Kunduz; where she gave so favourable an account of the generous behaviour of the Persian, that Baber was induced to hope for his assistance in reinstating him in his hereditary kingdom. He, for this purpose, sent him an ambassador, with proper presents. In the mean time, in order to keep up the spirit of enterprize, he

* The Oxus.

marched

marched towards Hissar, where he still found the A. D. 1519. H. 2. 917.
 Usbecks greatly superior in force to him. He therefore declined to attack them, till he should recruit more forces. This being done, he advanced to their encampment, and offered them battle, which they accepted, and Baber obtained a complete victory, to which the bravery of Chan Mirza greatly contributed.

He was, in a few days after, joined by Ahmed, of the Sussvi family, Alli Ollagelo, and Sharock, with a fine body of cavalry on the part of the king of Persia, by which his army amounted to sixty thousand horse. With this force he marched towards Bochara, and, after several successful actions with Abdulla, and Jani Beg, possessed himself of that kingdom. Upon the fifteenth of Regib of the same year, he marched from Bochara to Samarcand, which city surrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him sovereign. Baber fixed his residence at Samarcand, and appointed Nasir, his brother, to the government of Cabul, giving leave to the troops of Persia to return home. But he had not possessed this throne above nine months, before the Usbecks, who had fled to Turkestan, advanced, under Timur, who had succeeded to Shubiani. Upon receiving these advices, Baber marched to defend Bochara, where he engaged the Usbecks, but being defeated, was obliged to shut himself up within the walls. He was, in the end, forced to abandon the city, and to retreat to Samarcand. Here he was again besieged, and obliged to fly to Shadman.

About this time, Nigim Sani, of Ispahin, general of the Persian armies, advanced with an intention to possess himself of Balich. Baber, ever watchful to grasp at every thing favorable to the ruling passion of his soul, formed an alliance with him for the recovery of his dominions. Sani
 having

A. D. 1518. having taken the fort of Kirish from the Usbecks,
 Hig. 924. put the garrison, consisting of fifteen thousand, to the sword. He then laid siege to Gudgdewan, in conjunction with the Sultan, whither the princes of the Usbecks advanced against them, from Bochara, with a great army; and fortune being still the adversary of Baber, Nigim Sani, with a great part of his army, was slain, and the mogul prince himself obliged to fly to Shadman, with a few attendants.

A conspiracy against his life.

Nor did the misfortunes of Baber rise from the enemy alone. His attendants conspired against his life, for having blamed some of them for bad behaviour. They rushed, in the night, into his tent, but being alarmed by the noise, he made his escape naked, and reached the fort of Aric before morning, without one attendant; and the conspirators plundered his camp, and dispersed themselves. In this situation of affairs, the king saw no further hope in those northern regions, and therefore set out for Cabul with a small retinue, and upon his arrival appointed Nasir to the government of Ghizni. In the year nine hundred and twenty-four, he marched towards Sawad and Bejoar, possessed by the Afghans of Zehi, who had been infesting his country. Having defeated those mountaineers, and carried some thousands of them into captivity, he gave the government of that country to one of his omrahs.

Meditates the conquest of Hindostan.

When Secunder, the emperor of Hindostan, died, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by Ibrahim the second, in whose reign the Patan chiefs of the imperial family of Lodi, became so factious, that they totally broke the power of that empire. Baber reckoned this a good opportunity to establish himself in India, the conquest of which he had long meditated, though he was always embroiled in other affairs.

Baber

Baber accordingly, in the year nine hundred and twenty-five, marched his army as far as the blue river, one of the branches of the Indus. He subdued all the countries in his way, and crossing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjab, raising heavy contributions for withholding his troops from plunder. He sent from Berah, one Moulana, with an embassy to the emperor Ibrahim, acquainting him, that as that country had been for many years in the possession of the house of Timur, it was proper he should now relinquish his pretensions to it, and so prevent the war from being carried further into India. At this place Baber received advice of the birth of another son, whom he named Hindul. He appointed Hassen Beg, governor of the conquered countries as far as Chinnah, and marched in person against the Gickers, and besieged the fort of Pirhala, whither Hatt their chief had retired. The Gickers were, one day, tempted to take the field, and were defeated by Doost Beg, the innugul general, while the king in person cut off their retreat to the fort, and obliged them to fly to the mountains. The fort, in which there was a considerable treasure, fell by this means into his hands, which satisfied Baber for this expedition, and he returned to Cabul.

In the latter end of the same year, Biber re-
turned again to Hindostan, with an intention to
take Lahore, and in his way chastised some Patans
of the tribe of Zehi, who disturbed him in his
march. He built a fort at Peshawir, and then
advanced to the Indus. He there received intel-
ligence, that the king of Kasgar, or Little Bu-
gharia, was marched into Buduchshan, which ob-
liged him to return, leaving the prince Muham-
med, one of the descendants of Timur, with four
thousand horse, to support his authority in the
country. He had not, however, reached Cabul,
before he heard that the king of Kasgar had been

A. D. 1519. obliged to retreat. Baber, therefore, turned his
 Hig. 926. face towards the Afghans, of the tribe of Chizer
 Cheil, who began to make depredations upon the
 kingdom of Cabul in his absence, and severally
 chastised them for their insolence, spoiled their
 country, and returned to his capital.

Third ex-
 pedition
 into Hin-
 dostan.

Baber, in the year nine hundred and twenty-
 six, marched a third time towards India, chastis-
 ing the Patans in his way; till he reached Salton,
 the inhabitants of which country submitted; and
 saved their possessions. But the people of Seid-
 poor, erecting the standard of defence, were, in
 the end, put all to the sword, their wealth given
 up to depredation, and their children and wives
 carried away captive. Baber was here alarmed,
 by intelligence from Cabul, that obliged him to
 return, for the Kandharians had invaded his coun-
 try. He marched against them, drove them out
 of the field, and invested their capital.

Returns
 and besieg-
 es Kanda-
 har,

He, in the mean time, received advice of the
 death of Chan Mirza, in Buduchshan, and ap-
 pointed his son Humaioon to that government.
 Shaw Beg, the prince of Kandahar, held out with
 great bravery against Baber for the space of three
 years, during which time the blockade lasted.
 But in the year nine hundred and twenty-eight,
 Baber, who was obstinate in his resolution, at
 length reduced Kandahar, and all the country of
 Garrumfere, appointing prince Camiran, his son,
 to the government.

which is
 taken.

Fourth ex-
 pedition
 into Hin-
 dostan.

Soon after the surrender of Kandahar, Dowlât
 Lodi, apprehensive of the emperor Ibrahim, sent
 a deputation to Baber, at Cabul, begging his pro-
 tection. Baber, in the year nine hundred and
 thirty, augmented his army, and advanced with-
 in six crores of Lahore, where Par Lodi, Muba-
 rick Lodi, and Bicken Bohani; who were power-
 ful omrahs of Punjab; joined their forces, and
 opposed

oppressed him; but they were defeated with great slaughter. Baber, in person, marched to Lahore, and took it, setting fire to the Bazar, according to a superstitious custom of the Meguls. The king remained four days only in Lahore, and then advanced against Debalpoor. He summoned the place to surrender, but as the garrison forced him to risque an assault, in which he was successful, he put them all to the sword. Dowlat Lodi, with his three sons, joined Baber at Debalpoor, and the father was appointed to the government of Jallender, Sultanpoor, and other districts of Punjab, which rendered him very powerful.

This Dowlat Lodi was a descendant of the race of that name who heretofore reigned at Delhi. He gave to Baber information, that Ismael Selwani, and other Afghans, were collected at Khrarah; that it would, therefore, be advisable to detach a force against them. The Sultan agreed to this proposal, and prepared to send a detachment that way. In the mean time, Delawir, the youngest son of Dowlat, acquainted Baber, with whom he was a great favorite, that his father and brother wanted to divide his troops, to put some plan which they themselves had concerted, in execution. The king, after being convinced of the truth of this information, ordered Dowlat and his son Ghazi, into confinement. He then crossed the Suttuluz, advanced to Sirhind, and there released the two Lodi's, and gave them estates. But when they had reached Sultanpoor, they deserted the camp, and fled to the hills. The king, upon this, gave to Delawir the title of first of the nobles, and both their estates; but as the father and son's desertion greatly affected Baber's interest in Hindostan, he thought it no ways advisable to proceed to Delhi this year. He, accordingly,

A. D. 1524 accordingly, returned to Lahore, and, having
 Hig. 931. appointed governors to the different countries in
 his possession in India, set out for Cabul.

Defeat's
 Baber's
 forces.

During Baber's absence, Dowlat Lodi found means to seize his son Delawir, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; then marching with a formidable army to Debalpoor, fought Allā, the brother of the emperor Ibrahim, and Baba Kiska, and defeating them, subdued that country. Allā fled to Cabul, and Baba to Lahore. Dowlat sent five thousand Afghans against Salcot, but Mir Aziz, governor of Lahore, immediately marched, with what forces he had, to the assistance of Kokiltash, who held the government of Salcot, and meeting with this detachment of Afghans, defeated them, and returned to Lahore.

Ibrahim
 attacks
 him.

Much about this time, an army, on the part of Ibrahim, emperor of Delhi, marched against Dowlat Lodi and his son. Dowlat turned his army to give them battle, and, having met them at Bidwarrah, found means to stir up a faction in his own favor in the imperial camp, insomuch that such as were not disaffected were obliged to fly the camp, and return to Ibrahim.

Allā ar-
 rives at
 Lahore

Allā, who had lost his government of Debalpoor, and had fled to Cabul, now arrived in Lahore, with orders from Baber to all his officers in those parts, to join him with all their forces, and march towards Delhi, and that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs at home would permit. Dowlat and Ghazi Lodi, hearing of this order, wrote to the mogul omrahs, that they were glad to find that Baber espoused the cause of Allā, who was the very person they themselves would chuse to raise to the throne of Delhi; that if they would; therefore, send him to them, they would undertake to place him upon the Musnud.

The

The mogul chiefs, having first obtained a grant ^{A. D. 1575} for Baber, of all the countries to the north-west ¹¹⁸² of the Indus, permitted Alla to join the Lodi's himself, without complying further with their master's orders. When accordingly Alla arrived in their camp, Dowlat and his son supplied him with the greatest part of their force, with which he marched towards Delhi, and invested it, as before related, with forty thousand horse. In the mean time, the emperor Ibrahim advanced against his brother from Agra, and was surprized, in the night, when he had reached near the city; but, by the irregular behaviour of Alla's army, who, in the morning, dispersed themselves to plunder, they were fallen upon by Ibrahim, and defeated in their turn, which obliged Alla to retreat, in great distress, to Punjab. When Baber heard of the defeat of Alla, he awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury, which he had indulged for some time in Calcut, and, in the beginning of the spring, of the year nine hundred and thirty two, marched the fifth time towards Hindostan. He was joined by his son Humayoon, with a good force, from Buduchshan, and Chajja Callan, with the troops from Ghizni. He took the rout of Lahore, and in the way used to hunt rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded, and so had an opportunity of putting the personal bravery of most of his chiefs to trial, as that was a dangerous and warlike exercise. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive in toils.

Upon the first of the first Ribbi, Baber crossed the Indus, and upon the banks of that river, mustered his army, which consisted of only ten thousand chosen horse. Crossing then that branch of the Indus, which is called Behrit, he advanced to Saleor, where Alla met him, and likewise Ali, governor

A. D. 1525.

Hig. 932.

Preparati-
ons for a
general en-
gagement.

Baber advancing to the field of battle, encamp-
ed there six days, ordering chains to be made to
link the carriages of his guns together, to prevent
the horse breaking through them. The imperial
army under Ibrahim, by this time, consisted of
one hundred thousand horse, and a thousand ele-
phants; that of Baber, of thirteen thousand only.
When Ibrahim had advanced near, Baber ordered
five thousand horse to attack the Indian camp in
the night; but finding the enemy upon their
guard, this detachment returned without attempt-
ing any thing.

This retreat hastened Ibrahim to action, and
accordingly he marched next morning to Panni-
put. Baber, at the same time, advanced within
twelve miles of Ibrahim's encampment. Upon
the day after, being the seventh of Rigib, the
two armies came in sight of each other. Baber
divided his troops into two lines, and four grand
divisions, with a body of reserve in the rear of
each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front.
The first division on the right was commanded by
Prince Humaion. The first on the left was un-
der the orders of the King's cousin Mahommed.
The second, on the right towards the center, was
commanded by Timur. The second, to the left
towards the center, by the noble Chalifa. Chu-
fero, and other omrahs, was appointed to com-
mand the light horse, or herawils, in the front.
Aziz and Tirrah, in the rear of the right, and
Ceri and Willi Kizil, in the rear of the left. Be-
sides these, there was a reserve in the rear of both
lines, that on the right commanded by Casim,
and that on the left by Ali. The king himself
took his post in the centre of the first line, after
having personally given orders to his generals.

The battle.

The emperor Ibrahim, ignorant of the art of
war, observed no regular order of battle, but
drew up his forces in one great line or column
of

of unequal depth, and ordered them to charge the Mogul army, vainly imagining that he could bear them down with numbers. But he found himself soon fatally deceived. So formidable were the Moguls to the Patans, from their known courage and steady order, that the emperor's unwieldy column began to break and turn thin, before they came up to the charge, which was directed at the center of the Mogul army. Those who advanced were repulsed with great bravery, but when they sought to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two bodies of reserve, in the rear of the Mogul line, had wheeled round their flanks, and meeting in the center, fell upon the rear of those who had advanced to the charge, by which means the Patans were almost all cut to pieces. The reserve having performed this service, retired to their post in the rear, and the Mogul lines advanced, sustaining various irregular charges from the Indian army, whom they repulsed with great slaughter.

Ibrahim, at last roused with shame and indignation, advanced in person, followed by the flower of his army, and gave such a violent shock to the Mogul line, as threw it into disorder. Nothing now but personal bravery was left to decide the day; but in this, and the compact form in which the Moguls whole force was wedged, they were still superior to the Indians. Five thousand fell with Ibrahim in one small spot of ground. The Patan army, when their king was slain, recoiled like surges from a rocky shore, and the torrent of flight rolled towards the banks of the Jumna, dying the course of that river with blood; for so far did Baber continue the pursuit; but being wearied with slaughter, he gave hope to fear, and respite to death.

According to the most moderate accounts there were sixteen thousand Patans killed in this action,

A.D. 1525. tion, though most authors say fifty thousand.
 Hig. 932. Of the loss of Baber we have no information ; conquerors having it always in their power to conceal the number of their slain. We may date from this battle, the fall of the Patan empire, though that race afterwards made many efforts, and recovered it, for a few years, as we shall see in the life of Humaion.

Baber enters Delhi, and assumes the empire.

Baber did not fail to make the best use of his victory. He immediately after the battle detached the Prince Humaion, and three of his principal omrahs, to Agra, before they could have time to recover from their consternation, or to remove their wealth. He also sent his cousin Mahommed, and three other chiefs, to Delhi, to take possession of that capital, while he himself came up in the rear, and, on the twelfth of Rigib, entered the city. The chutba was read in his name, by Zein the Metropolitan of Delhi ; and, after having surveyed the city, and visited the tombs of the saints and heroes, he set out for Agra, where he arrived the twenty fifth of the same month, and immediately invested the fort ; which was in possession of the former government, garrisoned by the troops of the Raja, of Gualier, who had been killed in the action. But so much had the terror of the Mogul arms now taken possession of every mind, that they immediately desired to capitulate, and sent him, by way of ransom, a perfect diamond weighing two hundred and twenty four ruttys *, which was formerly the property of the emperor Alla. Baber presented it to his son Humaion. Thus, upon the fifth day after his arrival, he was put in possession of the place, in which he found the mother of Ibrahim, who was treated with becom-

* A ratty is seven eighths of a carat.

ing respect, and permitted to enjoy all her wealth. A. D. 1516
11.8.931

This conquest of Hindostan, as Baber himself writes in his Commentaries †, was certainly superior to that of any former conqueror. Mith-mood of Ghizni was not only a powerful emperor, but the country was, at that time, divided into a number of kingdoms, which greatly facilitated his enterprizes. Mahommed Ghori brought an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men with him, when the kingdom was not so powerful. The like may be said of Timur, who ravaged Hindostan when it was torn to pieces by civil commotions. But the army of Baber was but a handful in proportion to that of Ibrahim, who possessed all the countries between the Indus and Behar, and could bring five hundred thousand men to the field; while Baber only possessed the poor countries of Cabul, Buduchistan, and Kandahar, the revenues of which were very inconsiderable. To what then can we attribute this extraordinary conquest, in a natural light, but to the great abilities and experience of Baber, the bravery of his few hardy troops, trained up to war, for their subsistence, and now fired with the hopes of glory and gain? But what contributed most to weigh down the scale of conquest, was the degeneracy of the Patans, effeminated by luxury and wealth, and dead to all principles of virtue and honor, which their corrupt factions and civil disorders had totally effaced; it being now no shame to fly, no infamy to betray, no breach of honor to murder, and no scandal to change parties. When, therefore, the fear of shame and the love of fame were gone, it was no wonder that a

† The Commentaries of Baber are still extant, and reckoned one of the best performances of the kind in the East.

A. D. 1526. herd, without unanimity, order, or discipline,
 Hig. 933. should fall into the hands of a few brave men. This is the general tendency of wealth in all governments, if the reins are not held fast, the laws punctually executed, and the progress of corruption checked both by private and public oeconomy.

Baber's generosity.

Upon the twentieth of Rigib, Baber went into the treasury, which was very rich. He reserved not a single dinar for himself, but divided it among his omrahs and troops; the share of the former coming to two lacks of rupees each; and those of others were proportionable to their rank and stations. A part was sent to Cabul, to be divided among Baber's subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharoch*, besides presents, which he sent to Samarcand, Chorrassan, Kashgar, Pairac, Mecca, Medina, Kirbilla, Negif, Mushad, and other holy places, in charity. This generosity, which bordered upon prodigality, fixed upon Baber the name of Collinder, whose custom it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The provincial omrahs refused to submit.

As the Patans were in great terror of the Moguls, and had a natural antipathy to their government, they still refused to submit, and appeared every where in arms, strengthening their forts, and erecting the standard of defiance in their different provinces; Cazim, in Simbol; Formalli, in Mewat; Zeitôn, in Dolepoor; Tatar, in Gualîr; Husein Lohani, in Rhaberi; Cuttub in Atava; Allum, in Calpee; Nizam, in Biana; besides Nasir Lohani, and Furmalli, on the other side of the Ganges. All these chiefs refused to acknowledge Baber's authority. But as it was necessary to form an alliance for their mutual defence, they unanimously appointed Par Chan,

* A silver sharoch is in value about a shilling sterling.

the son of Diria Lodi, their general, or, rather, king, by the title of Sultan Mahommed; and, rendezvousing at Kinnoge, advanced towards Agra. At the same time, Mir, the Afghan chief, who had joined Biler, deserted him, with all his adherents: even the inhabitants of the country round Agra, cut off his foraging parties, and rendered it very difficult for him to support his cavalry, or supply his troops with provisions: Add to this, the intolerable heat of the weather, by which a great many Moguls, not being accustomed to such a climate, died.

In this situation of affairs, Baber received an address from all his chiefs requesting him to return to Cabul; to which he replied, 'That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in taking, was not to be wrested from him but by death alone. He, at the same time, issued a proclamation, that he was determined to abide his fate in India; but if any person was desirous of returning to Cabul, preferring safety to glory, and ignoble ease to the manly toils and danger of war, they might retire in peace, and leave him only those whose valor would reflect honor on themselves, and glory on their king and country. The omrahs hearing this, were ashamed of their former behaviour, and, striking their breasts, swore they would never forsake him; all, except Chaja Callan, whose bravery was too well established to be disputed, though he was advised, being at the point of death, to retire to recover his health. He was appointed governor of Cabul and Ghizni, for the great services which he had rendered to the king. When it was known that Baber had determined not to leave Hindostan, as his ancestor Timur had done, some omrahs, who were willing to be first in favor, began to come over to him, first, Gurin, with three thousand horse,

Baber's desire and resolution

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A D. 1526. horse, from between the rivers, offered his service, which was accepted. The next was Formalli, from Mewat, to redeem his sons who had been taken in the battle; then Firose and Chirmali, with their whole dependents.

Much about this time, an address was received from Casim, of Simbol, that Bein, an Afghan, was besieging him in his fort, and that if the King would send him succours, he would lift himself among his servants. The king sent a detachment, that way, who engaged the Afghan, and defeated him, after which Casim put the Moguls in possession of the fort. The king then sent his son Humaioon, with the greatest part of his army, against the confederate Patan omrahs, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse; but, upon Humaioon's approach, they retreated from Kin-noge to Jionpoor. Humaioon having prevailed upon Fati, the former empcror's vizier, to join him, sent him to the king at Agra, who treated him with the utmost respect and favor, which induced several other Afghan chiefs to come over to his interest.

Nizam, governor of Biana, though he was now hard pressed by Rana Sinka, who wanted to make himself master of that province, still refused to submit to the king's authority, which obliged Baber to send Baba Kuli against him with a detachment, which was defeated. But Rana Sinka soon after reduced Nizam to such extremities, that he sent a deputation to Baber, begging pardon for his offence, and requesting he would support him, for which he was ready to pay him due allegiance. The king, glad of the opportunity, made no hesitation to embrace the offer, and, sending a force to drive off Rana, Nizam was put in possession of the place, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, for

Casim of
Simbol sub-
mits.

Nizam, go-
vernor of
Biana, sub-
mits.

for the annual payment of twenty lacks of rupees. A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

Tatar and Saring, who were in possession of the fort of Gualier, being besieged by the Indian prince of that country, in the same manner addressed the king for succours. Baber dispatched a detachment, which defeated the raja, but Saring recalled his promise, and refused to deliver up the place. There was in the fort, at that time, a philosopher whose name was Sheeh Gose, who had a great number of students under him, and who wrote to the Mogul general, to endeavour to get permission to come himself into the fort, and that he would find means of accomplishing the rest of his desires.

The Mogul, for this purpose, begged leave, as he had enemies all around him, to bring his troops under protection of the garrison, for fear of a night assault, and that he might be permitted the honor of paying the philosopher a visit in the garrison. This being agreed to, the Mogul was received into the fort with a few attendants. He, from time to time, pretended occasion to send frequent messages in and out; till the officer of the guard troubled the governor so often for leave, that he desired him to send one of his own servants, to point out such necessary people as he might want to have free ingress and egress. The officer of the guard, who was a disciple of the philosopher, and who had been let into the plot, availed himself of this order, and permitted every body pointed out, to pass, by which means all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Saring was told to give up the place, and threatened with instant death, in case of refusal; so having satisfied himself of the circumstances, he made a virtue of necessity, and replied, 'That had he

The governor of Gualier propose to submit.

G. Saring taken by a stratagem.

where he remained in banishment. Prince Hu. A. D. 1556. Hig. 933.
 maon, having defeated the omrahs at Jionpoor, left Birlas to keep those provinces in awe, returned himself to court, having, upon his way, conciliated matters with Allum, governor of Calpee, who now accompanied him, and was received with great respect.

The king was, at this time, suddenly alarmed Baber
 by advices that many Patan omrahs with Mah. a armed
 mood, the son of the emperor Secunder, and w. ch a
 other chiefs and rajas in alliance, whose force ex- con/ceded...
 ceeded one hundred thousand horse, were prepar- ag. still
 ing to attack him. Baber, having no depen- luna.
 dence on the Patan chiefs, who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls, hastened towards the enemy. His van guard falling in with their's, upon the frontiers of Biana, after a sharp conflict, were repulsed by the enemy with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the King's small army. Nerzi fled to Simbhol, Hassen joined the enemy, and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters. Nor did the predictions of Sherif a little add to the general consternation. This pretended wizard averred; that Bripot * was in the east, and consequently, that whoever marched from the west should be overthrown.

The King perceiving this panic, called, imme- A council
 diately, a council of war. The greatest part of of war.
 the officers gave it as their opinion. that, as the superiority of the enemy was evident, it was advisable to leave a strong garrison in Agra, and to retreat with the bulk of the army to Punjaab. Baber, with a discontented aspect, fixed his eyes, in silence, upon the ground. He, at length, sternly

* The planet Mars.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1526.
Hig. 933.

asked the chiefs, "What would the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death should oblige to abandon such a kingdom?" "The voice of glory," said he, "is loud in my ear, and forbids me to disgrace my name, by giving up what my arms have, with so much difficulty, acquired. But as death is at last unavoidable, let us rather meet him with honor, face to face, than shrink back, to gain a few years of a miserable and ignominious existence; for what can we inherit but fame, beyond the limits of the grave." The whole assembly, at once, inspired with one soul, cried out, at once, "War! War!" The King, having been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow never to drink any more. Orders were immediately issued to prohibit the sale of wine in the camp; not so much from superstition, as to keep the mind cool for action.

Baber
marches
towards the
enemy.

Upon the ninth of the second Jemmad, of the year nine hundred and thirty three, which happened to be Norose's, Baber formed his line of battle, with his guns and rockets in his front. In that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of six miles. But after he had advanced two miles he halted, and encamped his army. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out, under the command of Mahmomed Casim, to skirmish with the enemy's scouts, and advanced guards, among whom they did great execution.

The King, next day, advanced two miles further, and marked out his camp at the village of Kava, but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy advancing upon him. He

The enemy
advance of
attack him.

*, New-year's day.

formed

formed his line with great expedition, in the manner which he had practised for some days before, and, in a few minutes, was able to receive the shock of battle. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam Chalipha, whom Baber reckoned his ablest general; and this order of battle being, on account of circumstances, different from the former, we shall relate it at large in this place.

The line, which upon this occasion was single, consisted of six brigades, exclusive of the King's life guards in the center, where Baber posted himself. Before each of the brigades, a few paces in front, the King placed a squadron of light horse, which formed another kind of line with great intervals. In front of the whole, the artillery and rocket-waggons were drawn up in three divisions, the right, left, and center. The guns were chained together, so that there was a kind of fortification formed against the enemy's cavalry. The brigade immediately to the right of the center, was commanded by Timur, consisting of his own tribe, and the troops of many other omrahs of distinction. The brigade to the left of the center was under the immediate orders of Allum, a descendant of the emperor Beloli, and composed of his national troops, and those of five other nobles. The two brigades of the right wing were commanded in chief by prince Humaioun, and of these the right hand brigade consisted of the troops of Calim Husseln, and other chiefs of family and experience in war. The left hand battalion of prince Humaioun's division was made up of the troops of Seid Aroir, and of those of other six nobles of the Mogul race.

The order of battle.

The two brigades of the left wing were commanded by Seid Chaja; the left hand battalion of whose division was composed of different squadrons, commanded by their respective chiefs. The

A. D. 1526. right hand brigade was made up of the troops of
 Hig. 933. Angi the Mogul, and those of Kumal, of the race
 of Alla, formerly emperor of India. The light
 horse of the left wing were commanded by Tirdi
 Beg; and those of the right wing by Mahmood
 Casim. Mahommed, the captain-general, took
 post before the King, with all his yellawils *, and
 a choice body of horse.

The battle
 begins.

Baber's ar-
 my surround-
 ed.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action
 was commenced by the artillery. The left of the
 enemy, charging the right of the Moguls, soon
 fell in hand to hand, with the battalions of Ko-
 kultash and Malleck Casim, and made them give
 ground. But Timur, by the Sultan's orders, in-
 clining to the right with his brigade, took up
 their ground, and falling upon the assailants with
 great fury, put them to flight, the light horse
 pursuing them with great slaughter, quite through
 their own line. The enemy, in the mean time,
 being so numerous, extended their flanks far be-
 yond the wings of the King, and came down
 upon him from all sides. Baber ordered his right
 and left wing to fall back, by which means his
 army was thrown into a circle. In this position
 he resisted the repeated assaults of the Patans till
 three o'clock, Alla Kuli of Rumi †, who com-
 manded the artillery, making great slaughter
 among them.

Baber finding the enemy fatigued by their re-
 peated assaults, determined to act offensively, to
 drive them quite out of the field. He therefore
 put himself at the head of the brigades of Timur
 and Allum, and charging them like a lion rush-

ing from his forest, after an obstinate resistance A. D. 1516
Hig 933.
He over-
throws the
enemy. put their whole army to flight. Hassan of Mewat, was killed with a cannon shot, and Raw Luddive, Chunder Ban, Mannuk Chohan, Kirim Sing, all powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the dead. The King, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazi*; and, as a monument to perpetuate the memory of the battle, he ordered a pyramid to be built upon an eminence near the field, which, according to the custom of his age and nation, was stuck round with the heads of the slain. The astrologer, after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction, was presented with a lack of rupees, and banished from the kingdom.

Baber, from this fortunate field, marched to- Reduces
Mawat wards Mawat, where Nihar, the son of Hassan, seeing no other means of safety, submitted himself and the country to the King. The government of Mawat was conferred upon Timur. After these transactions, Baber returned to Agra, from whence he sent his son Humayoon to Cabul, with orders to add Baluch to that province, and to rule both in his own name. Ali, and Tirdi Beg, were ordered against Hussein and Dirai, who still kept possession of Chandwar and Raberi. But upon the approach of the Moguls, they fled, and Hussein was drowned in crossing the Junna, while Dirai escaped. Mahommed, the King's cousin, was detached at the same time to Kinnoge, against Bein the Afghan, who fled from thence to Cheirabad.

Upon the twenty ninth of Zihidge, in the year Baber in-
vests Ch n-
del. nine hundred and thirty four, the King marched to hunt towards Kole and Simbol. Having diverted himself with the chase for some time, he

* Ghazi signifies a warrior.

returned

A. D. 1527.
Hig. 934. returned to his capital, and was taken ill of a fever, of which however he soon recovered. He then marched towards Chinderi, where Medeni Rai, a Hindoo chief, had shut himself up with a strong garrison of Rajaputs. The place was invested, and the Rajaputs sallied out, and attacked the King, but they paid dear for their rashness, and lost six thousand men upon the field. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it longer against the enemy, according to their dreadful custom, murdered their wives and children in the following manner. They placed a sword in the hand of one of their chiefs, and he slew the unhappy victims, who, one after another, bent, of their own accord, their necks before him; they even contended among themselves about the honor of being first slain. The soldiers then threw a yellow powder upon their garments, as on a day of festivity, and throwing loose their hair, issued forth with their swords and shields, and sought after that death, which they all obtained. The empty fort fell into the hands of the Moguls.

Defeats the
omrahs of
the east.

Advices were, about this time, received, that a detachment, which had been sent against the Patan chiefs of the tribe of Lodi, who held still the Eastern provinces, was defeated. The King, therefore, left Ahmed, the son of Mahommed, and grand-son of Sultan Nasir of Malava, who had now joined him, in the government of Chinderi, and marched in person towards Kinnoge. He met his defeated troops at Raberi, and arriving at the river, he threw over it a bridge of boats. His general Timur was ordered to cross in the front, the enemy being then on the opposite shore. After a faint resistance, the Patans gave way; but Timur pursuing them, took part of their baggage, and a great number of their women and children.

The

The King, after this victory, hunted, for a few days, upon the banks of the Gang, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Zeman, one of the posterity of Timur, for he was the son of Budeli ul Zeman Mirza, of Balich, governor of the city, and, in the year nine hundred and thirty five, marched himself to survey the country. He first took the route of Gualier, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone elephant, and the palace of the Raja. He then visited the gardens of Relim, and ordered some flowers and plants, of an uncommon kind, to be transplanted to Agra. He went to worship in the great mosque, built by the Emperor Altumsh, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and returned, by another way, to Agra.

Baber, soon after his return to Agra, was seized with an intermitting fever, which continued upon him for eight months. Some superstitious people advised him, during his sickness, to write a poem in praise of Chaja Ahrar, one of the saints, to induce him to intercede with God for his health. Baber, though it is highly probable he did not give much credit to the power of the saint, actually wrote the poem, in the measure of Mowlani Jami. The King recovered from his disorder about the eighth of the first Ribbi. He offered up public thanks to God for the restoration of his health, and made a great feast upon the occasion. He distributed magnificent presents among the omrahs and foreign ambassadors, and bestowed large sums to gladden the hearts of the poor. During this festival, Chandaniire, the author of the Habib ul Sier, Mowlana Mammai, and Mirza Ibrahim Canooni, who came from Herat, and were esteemed the greatest men for literature in that age, were introduced to the King: He loaded them with his favors, and ordered them places near his own person.

The

A. D. 1528.
Hig 935.
Arrived at
Agra.

Falls sick.

A. D. 1528. The Emperor's relation Ashkari, who governed
 Hig. 935. Moultan, was, this year, ordered to court, and
 Ashkari having exhibited the tokens of obedience, he was
 sent against Nuf'erit, one of the
 who sub- Patan chiefs, on the borders of the Decan. Nu-
 mits. ferit, hearing of the approach of the Moguls,
 sent an ambassador to the King, subjecting himself
 to the royal authority. Nizam Beri, prince of
 Ahmednagur, at the same time sent to congratu-
 late Baber on his good fortune, and proffered
 obedience. Baber, towards the close of this year,
 received advices that Mahmood, the son of the
 Emperor Secunder Lodi, had possessed himself
 of the province of Behar, and that one Bellocha
 had erected the standard of rebellion in Moultan.
 The King sent orders to his omrahs in the north-
 west, concerning the affairs of Moultan, and
 marched in person towards Behar. When he ar-
 rived at Kurrah, Jellal, descended of that dynasty
 of Patans, who stiled themselves Emperors of the
 East, prepared a royal entertainment for him,
 and was honored with his presence. Zeman was
 detached from Kurrah to the conquest of Behar.
 He soon drove Mahmood out of the field.

But a few months after, the Afghans of Be-
 har, collecting themselves together a second time,
 advanced to the Gang, opposite to Hideri. The
 King detached Ashkari with a division of the
 troops to oppose them, and next day followed
 that officer with the whole army. When he came
 to the banks of the river, and saw the enemy on
 the opposite bank, he was preparing boats to cross;
 but Timur begged permission to go before. As
 soon as he made his landing good with eighty
 horse, Ashkari, who had crossed at another place,
 appeared in the enemies rear; and they immedi-
 ately took to flight. The King, after this action,
 left Junied Birlas to prosecute the war in con-
 junction

junction with Nuserit, and returned to pass the rainy season in Agra. He visited, upon his way, Sheeh Eiah, at Monier, the father of Sherref Moniri, and carried him to court. A. D. 1550.
H. 937.

The prince Humaioon having left his brother Hindal to govern in his absence, returned about this time from Cabul to visit his father. Seid Chan of Argund, took this opportunity of invading Buduchshan, and sent a force to attack Minkilla. Hindal, upon the approach of the enemy, retreated into the fort of Ziffer, where he was besieged. Seid of Argund, finding that he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants would not join him, ravaged the country, and returned home. But as the news of his retreat had not reached Agra, the government of Buduchshan was bestowed upon Soliman, one of the race of Timur, who set out immediately for that province with a letter from the King to Seid, expressing his surprize at hostilities, for which he could not account, but by some misbehaviour of his son Hindal; that, therefore, he had sent another person, who was allied to them both, to supply his place. When Soliman arrived, he found the country in perfect tranquillity, and took possession of the government, which his family have kept to this day. The prince Hindal returned to Agra. Translation
of the
Cah.

In the year nine hundred and thirty-six, the Sultan fell sick, and his disorder continued daily to gain strength, in spite of the power of medicine. Despairing at least of life, he recalled his son Humaioon, who was then besieging the fort of Callinger, and appointed him his successor. Upon Monday, the fifth of the first Jemmad, in the year nine hundred and thirty seven, he resigned in peace that life which he had so often exposed in war. According to his will, his body Baber falls
sick,

and dies.
was

A. D. 152. was carried to Cabul, and interred in a holy sepulchre.
 Hig. 1933.

His Character,

What shall we say of Baber, the wonder of the age in which he lived! He mounted a throne at twelve years of age, and, with various turns of fortune, reigned thirty eight. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his generosity to such excess, that it bordered upon prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil. He thus disarmed vice, and made the wicked the worshippers of his virtue.

His religion.

He was of the sect of the Hanifites, in whose doctrine and tenets he was perfectly versed; yielding more to the evidence of reason, than to the marvellous legends of superstitious antiquity. He was not, however, forgetful of that rational worship which is due to the great Creator, nor a despiser of those laws and ceremonies which are founded on sound policy for the benefit of the superficial judges of things. He was a master in the arts of Poetry, Writing and Music. He wrote his own Commentaries in the Mogul language, with such elegance and propriety, that they are universally admired. This work was translated, in the reign of Ackbar, by Chan Chanan into the Persian language, and from it we have abridged the preceding history of the life of Baber.

His genius for the fine arts.

His person

In his person, he was something above the middle size, nervous and well formed. His countenance was pleasant, and in disposition he was easy, facetious, and affable.

His justice.

To establish his reputation for justice and honor, we shall relate one instance out of many. When he was prince of Firghana, a rich caravan of

of Chitta and China, which was crossing the mountains of Indija, was buried in the snow. He ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to China to proclaim the accident, and bring the owners, or their heirs, to his court. Upon their arrival at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them all their goods, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for his expences.

A.D. 1525.
Hiz. 932.

Notwithstanding his great vigor in war, he was much addicted to wine and women, and all the fashionable pleasures of courts. He sometimes used, when he had an inclination to make merry, to fill a fountain with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: "Jovial days! Blooming springs! Old wine, and young maidens! Enjoy freely, O Baber, for life is not twice to be enjoyed!" He then would sit down in the midst of his friends, drink freely, and feast his eyes on the daughter of beauty who danced before him.

Added to
pleasure

Whithersoever he marched, or rode, he always had the road measured after him. This custom obtains with the emperors of Hindostan to this day. He made a statute concerning the measurement of distances, which has hitherto remained in force. He appointed a hundred tinnahs to one crore, each tinnah being forty guz*.

With respect to his military character, he seems to have had few that could equal him. He rendered the most dangerous enterprizes easy, by his undaunted courage and perseverance, which rose above all difficulties, and made him much

11 talents
for war.

* A guz is not quite an English yard.

A.D. 1530. more the object of admiration in his adversity,
 Hig. 937. than in the height of his prosperity. Nor did he forget himself in the latter, but always behaved with that moderation and equanimity which characterizes a great soul.

His genea- We have already traced Baber's descent from
 logy. Timur; but as he was the founder of a great dynasty, it will be proper to follow his genealogy further back into antiquity. The great Zingis Chan, the son of Piffuka, the son of Pirna, had four sons of renown, who were all Kings, and the fathers of nations. Their names were Oktai, Zagatay, Zuzi, and Tuli. Though Oktai was was not the eldest son, yet he was, by his father, appointed his successor, and ruled over the extensive empire of Asia in the city of Caracorum, the original capital of his fathers hereditary dominions. Oktai died, by excess of wine, in the year six hundred and thirty nine.

The family of Timur, or Tamerlane. Zagatay, the second son of Zingis, possessed the kingdoms of Maverulnere, Tirkestân, Balich, and Buduchshan, in subordination to his brother Oktai. Kirrachar Nevian, who was the fifth ancestor of Timur, was one of his nobles, and, at length, captain general of all his forces. The genealogy of Kirrachar runs thus: Timur the son of Jiraga, the son of Birket, the son of Alingar, the son of Abil, the son of Kirrachar, the son of Sagungi, the son of Ibumgi Berlafs, the son of Katchuli, the son of Jumnai, the son of Basinker, the son of Kidu, who, by the mother's side, was descended from Basinger, a princess, from whom Zingis derived his pedigree. The family of Timur had also married into that of Zingis, so that Timur Bec was lineally descended from that conqueror of all Asia.

State of Asia at the death of Baber.

Tamasp, the second of the Sophi dynasty, began his reign seven years before the death of Baber.

ber. He held the empire of all Persia and Ma-^{A D. 1530.}
 ver-ul-nere or Tranfoxiana, in peace for more ^{H. 227.}
 than ten years, after his accession. The provin-
 ces between Chorassan and India remained in the
 house of Baber.

H U M A I O O N.

A D. 1530
Hig. 932.
Humaioon
a great as-
tronomer.

THE Prince HUMAIOON, by the title of Nasir ul Dien Mahommed, immediately after the death of Baber, mounted the throne of his father, in India. He was a great astronomer, and took much delight in judicial astrology. He fitted up seven houses of entertainment, and named them after the seven planets. In each he gave public audience, according to the ruling planet of the day, ordering all the furniture, paintings, and also the dresses of those who waited upon him, to bear something that was an emblem of the tutelar star of the house. He even endeavoured to suit the people, who came to pay their respects, to the supposed influence of the planet, which presided over the time of their attendance. In the house of the Moon met foreign ambassadors, travellers and poets. Military men attended him in the house of Brisput*, and judges, lawgivers, and secretaries, were received in that of the Recorder of Heaven†.

Designs of
his brother
against him.

But the urgency of important affairs did not permit Humaioon to follow long these innocent whims. Such only suited the days of peace, when the mind might enjoy her harmless follies. He scarcely had ascended the throne, when his brother, Camiran, who was then in Cabul, formed a design of making himself master of Punjâb. To conceal his intentions, he gave out, that he was going into Hindostan, to congratulate Humaioon upon his accession. The king being, how-

* The Planet Mars.

† Mercury.

ever, apprized of Camiran's views, by his behaviour in those countries through which he passed, and being extremely unwilling to make war upon his brother, consented to let him govern the provinces from the most southern branch of the Indus to Persia, holding them of the empire. This effectually stopped the progress of Camiran. The king, in the mean time, conferred the government of Mewat upon Hindal, his brother, and appointed his relation Askari to that of Simbol, the other provinces being left in the possession of the former subas.

Humaioon, in the year nine hundred and thirty eight, led an army against the strong fortress of *Callinger*, and invested the place. While the king carried on the siege, Mahmood, the son of the emperor Secunder Lodi, in conjunction with Bein the Aigan, took possession of Jionpoor, and kindled the flames of war in the eastern provinces. Humaioon, having received intelligence of these commotions, decamped from before Callinger, marched to Jionpoor, in a pitched battle overthrew the Afghans, and reinstated Juncid Birlas in his former government of that province.

The emperor, after this signal victory, returned to Agra, and bestowed honorary dresses upon above twelve thousand of his courtiers. He, in the mean time, dispatched a herald to Shere Chan, and demanded possession of the fortress of *Chinâr* *, which being refused, Humaioon marched his army that way. When the King lay before Chinâr, he was informed, that Bahadur, King of Guzerat, had turned towards him the points of

* Chinâr is a very strong fortress in the province of Oud, within seven crores of Benares. Both Shere Chan and Sultan Bahadur were governors under the former empire, and had, after the death of Ibrahim, assumed independence.

A. D. 1531. his spears. This obliged him to patch up a kind
 Hig. 938. of a peace with Shere, and to return towards
 Agra. Cuttub, the son of Shere, whom the em-
 peror had taken as an hostage, found means, on
 the way, to make his escape, and to return to his
 father at Chinâr.

A conspi-
 racy disco-
 vered.

Mahommed Zeman of the race of Timur, the
 grandson of Hufflein aspired to the throne, and
 was supported in his pretensions by the omrahs of
 Chigittai. The plot was discovered, and the
 leader of the conspiracy pardoned: But Humai-
 oon finding him, a second time, meditating trea-
 sonable practices, he ordered him to be confined
 in the fortress of Biâna. Orders were given to
 put out the eyes of Mahommud Sultan and Nu-
 ferit Mirza, for being the principal abettors of
 the prince's ambitious designs; but the person to
 whom it was intrusted to inflict this punishment,
 saved the eyes of the former, while the latter
 found means to escape to Guzerat. Sultan, by
 the aid of his sons Ali Mirza and Shaw Mirza,
 who formed a party, was carried away to Kin-
 noge, where he was joined by about six thousand
 Moguls, Afghans, and Rajaputs.

Rebellion
 at Kinnoge.

Humaioon sent to Bahadur, under whose do-
 minion was the city of Kinnoge, and commanded
 him to deliver up Mahommed, but he rejected
 the orders in an insolent manner, which obliged
 the emperor to march against him. Bahadur
 king of Guzerat had, about this time, resolved
 to wrest the fort of Chitor from the Rana. Rana
 threw himself under the protection of Humaioon;
 but the emperor, for what reason is not known,
 having advanced as far as Gualier, encamped there
 for two months, and returned, without effecting
 any thing, to Agra. Rana, despairing of relief,
 sent a crown, and a considerable sum of money,
 to Bahadur, which induced him to raise the
 siege.

Bahadur,

Bahadur, whose affairs were now in a very prosperous situation, by the reduction of Mindu, and other places, began to shew his contempt of Humaioon, by advancing the conspirator Mahomed to great honors. He also prompted Alla, descended of the emperor Beloli Lodi, to attempt to possess himself of the throne of Delhi. He, for this purpose, made Tatar, the son of Sultan Alla, his general, and dispatched him, with forty thousand men, against Humaioon, with which he subdued Biana, and advanced to the environs of Agra.

This pressing danger awakened the king from his lethargy. He immediately sent his brother, the prince Hindal, with a force, to oppose Tatar. When the armies approached one another, there was so great a desertion from Tatar's troops, that, in the space of ten days, ten thousand horse scarce remained to him. He however resolved, with these, to stand his ground, and give battle to the imperial army, but he was totally overthrown, lost the most of his troops, three hundred officers of distinction, and his own life. Hindal, after this victory, retok Biana, and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, and returned in triumph to Agra.

Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty, marched, a second time, towards Chitor; and, in the mean time, Humaioon ordered a fort to be built in Delhi, on the banks of the Jumna, which he called Panna. He, soon after, marched towards Srirangpoor, which then held of Bahadur, as King of Guzarat, and wrote to him a punning couplet, unworthy of the dignity and majesty of a king. 'Chitor, in the Persian language, signifies, *in what manner*; and upon this was founded the miserable witticism continued in the verses. The words were, "O thou plun-

A.D. 1533. “ derer of the city of Chitor ! *in what manner*
 Hig. 940. “ canst thou conquer the idolaters ? For when
 “ thou wouldst wish to conquer Chitor ; thou
 “ know’st not *in what manner* the king comes to
 “ conquer thee.” Bahadur answered Humaioon
 in his own strain, and in the following words :
 “ I, who am the plunderer of Chitor, will con-
 “ quer the idolaters by valor ; and he who dares
 “ not succour Chitor, shall see *in what manner*
 “ he himself shall be conquered.” The wit is
 wretched on both sides ; but he who began the
 pun is most to blame.

Calls a
 council of
 war.

Bahadur, after sending the above billet to Humaioon, called a council of war. It was the open opinion of the majority, that as Humaioon had all his force with him, it were better to raise the siege, and march against him, and thus to take up the war by the roots. Others urged, that Humaioon was so rigid in his religious principles, that he would not disturb them in their war with idolaters ; that therefore it was most adviseable to finish the siege, which was now far advanced, and afterwards to think of other matters. Bahadur himself favoured the latter opinion. The siege was accordingly continued ; and Humaioon, piquing himself upon his religious principles, continued loitering at Saringpoor, till Bahadur had taken the fort. Bahadur, in the year nine hundred and forty one, marched with great expedition against Humaioon, who, hearing of his approach, marched forward to meet him. The two armies appeared in front of each other, near Munsoor. Bahadur, who had collected a great train of artillery, by advice of his engineer, Rumi Chan, entrenched his army, and placed his cannon in redoubts, in his front. This prevented Humaioon from risking an attack, and both armies continued in sight of one another for the
 space

space of two months. Daily skirmishes were, in the mean time, fought, with various success. A. D. 1534.
1172. 941.

Humaioon, finding that he could not draw Bahadur out of his trenches, employed all his attention to cut off his supplies. He ordered his horse, in successive bodies of five or six thousand, to scour the rear of the enemy, by which means famine began soon to be severely felt in their camp; men, horses, elephants, and camels, perishing daily in great numbers. Humaioon
cuts off his
supplies.

Bahadur, instead of making one brave effort to relieve himself, permitted base fear and despair to seize upon him; and, with only five friends, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mindu. This was no sooner known, than the flight became general; the chiefs dispersing themselves, with their adherents. Humaioon, in the morning, ordered the pursuit to commence, which was continued, as far as Mindu, with great slaughter of the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to escape, nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur threw himself into Mindu, and the place was closely invested. Cowardice
and flight
of Bahadur.

In a few days, three hundred Moguls scaled the walls of Mindu, in the night; and though the garrison consisted of many thousands, such was their panic, that they all betook themselves to flight. Bahadur escaped to Chapanier, which was then the capital of Guzerat, while Sidder Chan, his captain general, who was dangerously wounded, not able to proceed farther, shut himself up in the fort of Sunkar, where, being besieged, he capitulated the second day, and was, on account of his excellent character, received into great favor. Sidder, during the pursuit, saved Bahadur, when almost taken by Humaioon, by throwing himself in between the kings, till his master had an opportunity of making his escape. But he himself was attacked with such violence. Mindu taken by surprise.

A. D. 1555
11. 6. 542.

tirely drawn towards the different assaults. This furnished the king with an opportunity of fixing his iron spikes in the wall, by which means thirty-nine officers mounted, and the king himself made the fortieth. Before sun-rise his whole detachment was within the walls, when he displayed a signal which had been previously settled with his troops. They accordingly made a violent assault upon all sides, and Humaioun, in the mean time, at the head of his detachment, cried out, *Alla Akbar!* * and forcing his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, possessed himself of one of the gates: he immediately opened it, and admitted his troops, and all, except Acltiar and his family, who were in an outwork, were put to the sword. The governor defended himself so bravely, that he obtained a capitulation. The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness of the king, equal, in the opinion of all mankind, to any thing of the like nature recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzerat, which had been collected in the course of many years, was distributed among the troops. He gave to the officers and soldiers what wealth could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value of the things to their rank and merit. All the wealth of Roon, Chitta, and Fring t, which had been there collected, to a vast amount, was delivered over to plunder.

Bahadur having secured himself in Deo, sent Bahadur
Chirkufs to Alimedabad, to collect the revenues, levies for-
and levy troops. He found himself soon at the ces
head of fifty thousand men, and was daily gaining strength and reputation. Humaioun having

* That is, God is greatest.

† The Turkish Empire, China, and Europe.

A.D. 1535.
Hig. 942.

Humaioon
reduces all
Guzerat.

The insur-
rection un-
der Shere
Chan.

intelligence of the transactions of Bahadur, appointed Tirdi Beg to command the fort of Chapanier, and the adjacent countries, and marched in person with his army towards Ahmedabad. Chirkufs drew out his troops to oppose him, and falling in with the vanguard of the imperialists, commanded by the prince Ashkari, and he was defeated before the rest of the army could be brought up to the engagement. The king, for this signal service, appointed Ashkari governor of the splendid city of Ahmedabad. He divided then the provinces of Guzerat among his omrahs, and marched against Burhanpoor. Nizam, of Burhan, and the other provinces of the Decan, apprehensive of his designs to reduce Chandez, wrote to him letters of submission and allegiance.

These letters had scarce arrived, when the news of the insurrection of Shere Chan came to the king. He, however, reduced all the countries about Burhanpoor, then marched round to Mindu. Chirkufs, in the mean time, in conjunction with the omrahs of Guzerat, began again to acquire strength, and marched, with an army, towards Ahmedabad. Humaioon, having marched into the eastern provinces, invested Chinar, and reduced it, after a siege of six months. Having then gained the passes, he entered Bengal. Shere, in the mean time, carried away the treasure of the princes of Gour and Bengal, whom he had reduced, and fled to the mountains of Jarcund. The king continued his march to Gour, the capital of Bengal, took it, and commanded it to be called Ginnitabad †. Having resided in that city for the space of three months, he was obliged, on account of the moist air of that country, by which the greatest part of his army fell sick, as

† The paradisaical city.

well as by the rebellion of his brother, the prince Hindal at Agra, to return. A. D. 1539. Hig 516

Hindal had been sent to suppress Mahommed Mirza, who, we have already observed, had escaped to Kinnoge. But instead of performing that service, he, as soon as he saw himself at the head of an army, began to aspire to the throne. He accordingly marched back to Agra, where he discovered his treasonable intentions, by putting some of the principal people, who rejected his authority, to death. He thus enforced obedience, and throwing away every disguise, ordered the chutba to be read in his own name, and, with all the ensigns of royalty, marched to Delhi, and besieged it. The king, having heard of these proceedings, left Jehangire and Ibrahim to command in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. When he was about half way, Mahommed Zeman, of the race of Timur, who had formerly joined Bahadur, returned from Sind, and, being promised a pardon, joined the king with a considerable party. In the mean time, Sher the Afghan, finding the king's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and his affairs further perplexed by the rebellion of Hindal, marched with his troops from Roxas, and came behind the king on the Jossa *. Both armies lay three months inactive, at a time when the king ought to have run all hazards, being every day insulted, and more and more distressed by the enemy, who prevented his crossing the river.

To add still to Humaioun's misfortunes, his other brother, Camiran, instead of assisting him, ungenerously aspired to his throne, and marched, with ten thousand horse, from Lahore. When he arrived at Delhi, prince Hindal prevailed upon Camiran mounts the throne in Agra.

* Perhaps the Sone, or Carianassa.

A. D. 1539. him, to join his forces with his own, after which
 Hig. 946. they both continued the siege. Ali, who com-
 manded in the city, acquainted Camiran, that
 he could never think of betraying his trust, and
 rather than be so ungrateful to his prince, he
 was determined to hold out to the last drop of
 his blood; but, that, if he would first possess him-
 self of Agra, the capital, and entirely subdue his
 brother, he would then, and not till then, give
 up the city of Delhi. When Camiran and his
 brother found the governor so determined, and
 that the siege would cost them much blood and
 time, they set out together for Agra. When
 they had reached the environs of that city, the
 jealousy, which the brothers naturally entertain-
 ed of each other, the eyes of both being turned
 towards the throne, broke out into open war.
 Hindal, being deserted by many of his party, fled
 to Alwir, with five thousand horse, and three
 hundred elephants; and Camiron, entering Agra,
 assumed all the imperial ensigns.

Humaioo
 endeavours
 in vain to
 bring over
 his bro-
 thers.

Humaioo endeavoured, by every possible ar-
 gument with his brothers, to bring about a coa-
 lition of interests against Shree, telling them,
 that their family quarrels would certainly, in the
 end, lose them that mighty empire, which had
 cost their father so much pains to conquer, and
 involve the family of Timur in one common
 ruin; that it was, therefore, adviseable to join
 against the common enemy, and afterwards di-
 vide the empire amongst themselves. These ar-
 guments had no weight with his brothers, who
 were so blinded with ambition, that they were
 determined rather to lose all, than be contented
 with a part. They vainly hoping that after Shere
 had defeated Humaioo, they should be able to
 subdue Shere; and each had the folly to suppose,
 that he would be able to exclude the other, and
 so reign alone

At this juncture, Shere sent the learned Chelili, a dervish of great reputation, to Humaioon, to treat about a peace, which the king accepted, with gladness; upon the following conditions: That Shere should content himself with Bengal and Behar, which he was to hold in the king's name, paying a small acknowledgment.

When the conditions were signed and ratified by mutual oaths, Humaioon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse between both armies. This was what the perfidious Shere aimed at by the peace. He accordingly, next morning, surprized the emperor's camp; before day-break, and totally defeated him: As the bridge of boats, which the king had been preparing, was not finished, there was no way of escape left, but by plunging into the river; all the boats being seized by a party of the enemy, who had turned the rear of the emperor's army. Humaioon, his nobles, and a great part of his army, were forced into the stream, where eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned; among whom was the prince, Mahommed Zeman. This terrible overthrow happened to Humaioon in the year nine hundred and forty-six.

The king, by the assistance of a waterman, having with great difficulty swam across the river, with a few who had survived the slaughter of this dreadful day, fled to Agra. Prince Camiran hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwir, to consult with his brother Hindal. Finding that now the Afghans were likely to prevail, they were ashamed of their behaviour to their brother, and, when it was too late, thought proper to support him. In the mean time, all the mogul omrahs who were dispersed in the provinces, seeing that the power of their nation had sustained

A. D. 1519.
Hig. 945.
Makes
peace with
Shere.

Treachery
of Shere.

Humaioon
overthrown.

Escapes to
Agra.

A. D. 1539. sustained such a violent shock, found it also necessary to unite their strength. They accordingly hastened from all quarters to Agra; Jehangire, and Ibrahim, having left Bengal, and even Mahommed Mirza, who had rebelled in Kinnoge, joined now in the general cause against the Afghans.

Quarrels
between the
brothers.

The three brothers having met at Agra, held daily consultations; but Camiran, who was not earnest in reconciling their different interests, brought all their councils to nothing, and proposed to return to Lahore, to which resolution he was very much instigated by the famous Chaja Callan. Humaioon used every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambitious Camiran was determined to be every thing himself, or to give no assistance to his brother.

Camiran
deserts the
king.

These impolitic disputes had lasted six months, when Camiran was seized with a false appetite, which he too much indulged, and consequently became afflicted with a lientery, which he imputed to poison given him by his brothers. He immediately set out for Lahore, leaving a thousand horse with Secunder, one of his chiefs, under pretence of assisting his unfortunate brother. The inhabitants of Agra were greatly discouraged at Camiran's departure, so that many of them, fearing the issue of the war, accompanied him. Hyder, one of the posterity of Timur, disgusted with this behaviour, staid behind, and joined Humaioon, to whom he was of great service.

Shere ad-
vances to
the Gang.

Shere, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now advanced with an army to the banks of the Gang, and detaching his son Cuttub over the river, possessed himself of the adjacent provinces. Humaioon having received intelligence of these motions, ordered Hussein the Ufbeck, in conjunction with Eadgar and Secunder, against him, with a great army. They met the
enemy

enemy near Calpic, where an obstinate engagement happened, in which victory declaring for the moguls, Cottob, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and his head sent to Agra. The generals, at the same time, invited the king to come and have the honour of conquering Shere in person.

Homainon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse and crossing the Gang, near Kinnoge, sat down for the space of a month before the army of Shere, which consisted of little more than half his number. In the mean time, Mahommed Mirza, and his sons, who were remarkable for their treachery and ingratitude, fled to the enemy, with all their adherents, drawing many more after them, which again plunged the king into distress; for his army being dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his misfortunes, the rainy season now commenced, and his camp was quite overflowed with water, insomuch that the tents seemed afloat. The king therefore resolved to move his camp to higher ground.

On the tenth of Mohirrim, nine hundred and forty-seven, he put his army in motion. He was attacked by Shere on his march, and defeated with great slaughter. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river then close to his rear, the flight turned that way, and some thousands, to avoid the swords of the enemy, chose a more ignominious death in the water. A few only escaped with the king over the river, with whom he fled to Agra; the rest submitted themselves to the conquerors, or dispersed by various routs.

Shere, immediately after this victory, advanced towards Agra. The king was forced to retreat to Lahore, and on the first of Ribbi, the first of that year, joined the greatest part of his mogul

A. D. 1549.
1112 947.

Hama son
of Ardin
A. D. 1112.

and is over-
thrown

Shere ad-
vances to
Agra.

A. D. 1541.
Hig. 948. mogul omrahs, who had been dispersed since the action. Shere still continuing the pursuit, to make the best use of his victory, crossed the river of Jullanpoor, upon which the king, upon the first of Rigib, passed the river of Lahore, and retreated towards Tatta and Bicker, upon the Indus. Camiran, now sensible of his ungenerous and impolitic behaviour, was himself obliged to fly towards Cabul, and saw an empire wrested from his family, by the effects of that base envy, which could not behold even a brother's greatness without pain.

Humaioon,
embassy to
the gover-
nor of Tat-
ta.

Humaioon having crossed the Indus, on his way to Bicker, halted at Lori, and sent an ambassador, with a horse and dress to his cousin Hussein, governor of Tatta, to request his aid, that he might be able to possess himself of Guzerat. Hussein seeming to listen to his request, detained the king, by various artifices and excuses, for five months, by which means his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. The prince Hindal, his brother, in the mean time, left him, and went to Kandahar, being invited thither by the governor of that province. Eadgar Nasir proposed, at the same time, to quit Humaioon, but the unfortunate king took great pains to keep him firm to his interest, giving him the government of Bicker. But he had no sooner taken possession of that place, than he began to strengthen himself against his sovereign.

His great
difficulties.

Humaioon, in the mean time, had, with his little army, laid siege to Sewan for seven months, without effect, when Hussein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced, with a great force, from Tatta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Humaioon's army were

were soon greatly distressed, as well as the gar-<sup>A. D. 1541.
Hiz. 943.</sup> rison. The king, driven to extremities, requested Eadgar to join him with what forces he had in Bicker; but this ungrateful man chose rather to be prevailed upon to join Hussein, who promised him his daughter, and to secure him in his government. He immediately deserted the king's interest, at this dangerous crisis, and Humaioun was obliged to retreat precipitately from before Sewan, towards Bicker. He could not even obtain, in that place, a few boats from his own perfidious subjects, to waft his small army over the river. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some boats that had been sunk, raised them, and transported his troops to the other side.

Notwithstanding this accumulation of misfor-<sup>Eadgar sub-
sided</sup> tunes, Humaioun had strength enough left to strike terror into Eadgar, who, to avoid his resentment, came and made his submission. The necessity of the times obtained his pardon; but, in return for Humaioun's clemency, he began to raise sedition among his troops, and privately to draw them over to his own interest. This treason being communicated to the king, the traitor, upon being taxed with it, appeared at the head of his troops, in open rebellion. But the principal officers of the rebellious faction refused to attack their king, so that an action was prevented, when both parties were formed in order of battle. The king being in no condition, at that juncture, to contend with the rebel, thought it high time to provide for his own safety elsewhere. He therefore marched, by the way of Jasselmere to Maldeo, then the most potent Hindoo prince in Hindostan, having before received an invitation from him. But as he was passing through the territories of Jasselmere, the prince of that country sent
a force

A. D. 1541. a force to oppose him. The king defeated
 Hi. 948. them, and passed on to the boundaries of Maldeo, where he halted, and sent a messenger to that prince.

Raja Maldeo plots against Humaioon.

But few keep faith with a king, when he is under the cloud of misfortunes. Maldeo, seeing he had nothing to fear from Humaioon, found in his own mind no principle to love him; he therefore resolved, if possible, to seize the king, and send him to the usurper Shere. One of Maldeo's servants, who had formerly lived under Humaioon, having intelligence of this design, immediately informed the king.

He flies.

Humaioon mounted his horse, at midnight, and fled towards Amercot, which is about one hundred crores from Tatta. His horse, on the way, falling down dead with fatigue, he desired Tirdi Beg, one of his chiefs, who was well mounted, to let him have his; but so ungenerous was this man, and so low was royalty fallen, that he refused to comply with his sovereign's request. The troops of Maldeo being close to his heels, he was necessitated to mount a camel, till one Koka, dismounting his own mother, gave the king her horse, and placing her on a camel, ran himself on foot by her side.

His great distress.

The country through which they fled, being an entire sandy desert, the troops began to be in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad, others fell down dead; nothing was heard but dreadful screams and lamentations. To add, if possible, to this calamity, news arrived of the enemy's near approach. Humaioon ordered all those who could fight to halt, and let the women and baggage move forward. The enemy not making their appearance, the king rode on in front, to see how it fared with his family.

Night,

Night, in the mean time, coming on, the rear <sup>A.D. 1541.
Hig. 948.</sup> lost their way, and in the morning were attacked by a party of the enemy. One of the onrahs who adhered to the king's fortunes, named Ali, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell his life dear. Having repeated the creed of martyrdom, he rushed upon the enemy, and the first arrow having reached the heart of the chief of the party, the rest were, by the valor of this handful, put to flight. The other moguls joined in the pursuit, and took many of their camels and horses. They then continued their march, found the king sitting by a well, which he had fortunately found, and gave him an account of their adventure.

Marching forward, the next day, from this well, they were more distressed than before, there being no water for two days journey. On the fourth day of their retreat, they fell in with another well, which was so deep, that the only bucket they had, took a great deal of time in being wound up, and therefore a drum was beat to give notice to the people when the bucket appeared, that they might repair by turns to drink. The unhappy men were so impatient for the water, that as soon as the first bucket appeared, ten or twelve of them threw themselves upon it, before it quite reached the brim of the well, by which means the rope broke, and the bucket was lost, and several fell headlong after it. When this fatal accident happened, the screams and lamentations of all became loud and dreadful. Some lolling out their tongues, rolled themselves, in agony, on the hot sand; while others, precipitating themselves into the well, met with an immediate, and consequently an easier death. What did not the unhappy king feel, when he saw this terrible situation of his few faithful friends!

A. D. 1542. friends! The next day, though they reached a
 Hig. 949. brook, was not less fatal than the former. The
 camels, who had not tasted water for several
 days, now drank so much, that the greatest part
 of them died. The people also, after drinking,
 complained of an oppression of the heart, and
 in about half an hour a great part of them ex-
 pired.

A few, with the king, after this unheard of
 distress, reached Amercot. The raja being a
 humane man, took compassion on their misfor-
 tunes. He spared nothing that could alleviate
 their miseries, or express his fidelity to the
 king.

Akbar
 born.

Humaioon
 defeated
 flies towards
 Kandahar.

At Amercot, upon Sunday the fifth of Rigib,
 in the year nine hundred and forty-nine, the
 prince Ackbar was brought forth, by the Sultana
 Hamida. The king, after returning thanks to
 God, left his family under the protection of
 Rana, the prince of Amercot, and, by the aid
 of that raja, marched against Bicker. But a
 mutiny arising among the troops, they dispersed,
 so that nothing could be effected. Some of the
 king's own omrahs deserted him, and the gallant
 Ali, one of his principal adherents, was killed in
 an action in which Humaioon was defeated. The
 king fled towards Kandahar, and was, on his
 way, joined by that gallant mogul chief, Byram
 Chan, from Guzerat. The prince Camiran had,
 at that time, taken the fortrefs of Kandahar from
 his brother Hindal; and Ashkari governed there
 by his appointment. Hussein, who governed at
 Tatta, changing his mind with the increase of
 Humaioon's misfortunes, wrote to Ashkari, that
 the king was in the utmost distress, and that if
 he would now favor him, so meritorious an ac-
 tion could not be forgot. Ashkari, instead of
 listening

listening to this request, attacked the king when he approached, obliging him to leave behind him his young infant son, Akbar, and fly himself, with the Sultana Mariam, and only twenty-two horse, to Chorassan. Aslikari expressed great sorrow at the king's escape, and plundering all his effects, carried the young prince to Kandahar.

A. D. 1547.
Hiz. 949.

The king, by repeated trials, found that he could place no faith in his brothers. When he arrived upon the frontiers of Seistan, he was met by Shamlu, who was there governor on the part of Tamasp, king of Persia. He brought Humaioun to the capital of Seistan, and treated him with the greatest respect, presenting him with all the money of which he was possessed, and furnishing the Sultana with slaves. The king received just what supplied his occasions, and returned the rest: He from thence set out for Herat, and was, in that city, met by the prince Mahommed, the king of Persia's eldest son. This prince forgot nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character. He provided the unfortunate exile very effectually with all necessaries for his journey to the Persian court. In the progress of Humaioun towards the capital of Persia, all the governors of the provinces and great men paid him their compliments, and made magnificent entertainments for him. When he arrived at Kizvi, he dispatched Byram to the Persian king, at Isfahan, and waited for his answer. Let us now leave Humaioun, to give an account of the transactions in Hindostan, during his exile.

Is received
kindly by
the Persi-
ans.

Tamasp still held the sceptre of Persia. The State of
Afr. Ottomans, and their emperor Solymán, carried on a successful war against the Persians, and the
Vol. II. M Usbeck

A.D. 1542. Ufbeck Tartars were extremely troublesome on
Hig. 949. the north-east banks of the Oxus. The frontier
provinces to the north-west of the Indus remained
to the house of Timur, after the expulsion of
Humaioon from India.

S H E R E.

THE original name of Shere was Ferid. His father was Hussain, of the Soor tribe of the Afghans of Roh, a mountainous country on the confines of India and Persia. When Beloli placed his foot on the throne of the Indian empire, the grandfather of Shere, Ibrahim, came to Delhi in quest of military service. The original seat of the Afghans was Roh, which, in their language, signifies a mountainous country. It extended, they say, in length, from Sewad and Bijore, to the town of Sui in the dominions of Buckurast, and in breadth, from Hussin to Rabul. This tract, in its fertile vallies, contained many separate tribes; among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive themselves from the princes of Ghor, whose family held the empire after the extinction of the race of Ghizni. One of the sons of the Ghorian family, whose name was Mahomed Soor, having left his native country, placed himself among the Afghans of Roh, and was the father of the tribe of Soor, which was esteemed the noblest among them.

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Shere, arriving at Delhi, engaged himself in the service of an omrah of the court of Beloli. When the empire fell to Secunder, the son of Beloli, the noble Jemmal, a chief of high renown, was appointed suba of Jionpoor, and he took Hussain, the son of Ibrahim, in his retinue. He found him a youth of parts, and favored him so much, that, in a short

A. D. 1141

148 949.

Shere's fa-

mily.

Ibrahim ar-

rives at

Oct. 11.

A. D. 1542. short time he gave him the districts of Sehsharam
 Hig. 949. and Tanda, in Jagier, for which he was to maintain five hundred horse. Hussein had eight sons; Ferid and Nazam of one mother, of a Patan family; the other sons were born of slaves.

Ferid flies
 from his father's house.

Hussein had no great love for his wife, and he therefore neglected her sons. Ferid, upon this, left his father's house, and enlisted himself a soldier in the service of Jemmal, the governor of Jionpoor. Hussein wrote to Jemmal upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated. But all that Jemmal could say had no effect upon Ferid. Jionpoor, he said, was a better place for instruction than Sehsharam; and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. This he did to so much purpose, that he soon could repeat the works of the celebrated poet Sadi, and was, besides, a proficient in all the learning of the country. He, however, employed most of his time in history and poetry, being supported by the liberality of Jemmal.

Is reconciled with his father.

After three or four years had elapsed, Hussein came to Jionpoor, and, by the mediation of friends, the father and son were reconciled. Hussein gave Ferid the charge of his estate, and remained himself at Jionpoor. Ferid, when he took leave of his father, said, "That the stability of government depended on justice, and that it would be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak, or permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jagier, he actually put this resolution in practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and reducing to order such of his zemindars as opposed his authority. He, by this means, had his revenues punctually paid, and his country well cultivated. His reputation grew apace; for all his

his actions discovered uncommon genius and resolution. A D. 1549.
Huz 949.

Hussien coming to visit his estate, was extremely well pleased with the management of his son, and therefore continued him in his office. But the father had a favorite slave by whom he had three sons, Soliman, Ahmed, and Mudda, and the old man was extremely fond of her. She told him, that now her son Soliman was grown up, and that he ought to provide for him. She, day after day, continued to tease Hussien for the superintendency of the pergunahs for Soliman. This gave the old onrahs great concern, knowing the superior abilities of Ferid. The son, hearing that the domestic peace of his father was destroyed by the importunities of his favorite, made a voluntary resignation of his trust, which was accordingly conferred upon Soliman.

Ferid and his brother Nizam, set out immediately for Agra, and entered into the service of Goes to
Agra Dowlat, one of the principal onrahs of the emperor Ibrahim. Ferid, by his good behavior, soon insinuated himself into his master's affection. Dowlat, one day, desired him to tell him what he was most desirous to obtain, and that he would use his interest with the king in his favor. Ferid replied, That his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful mistress, who had deprived both himself and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, and had procured their estate for her own spurious offspring. That if Dowlat would, therefore, by his interest at court, procure the royal grant of the estate in his name, he would promise to provide for his father, and maintain five hundred good horse for the service of the empire. Dowlat accordingly preferred this request to the emperor Ibrahim, who replied, That he must be a bad man indeed, who reviled and undermined the interest of his own father. Dowlat retired in silence, and informed Ferid of the answer

of Mahommed, or Mahmood. As that monarch A. D. 1542.
1152 949. was one day on a hunting party, he roused an enormous tiger; which Ferid immediately attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre. For this bold action, which was done in Mahmood's presence, he was honored with the title of Shere Chan*. Shere rose gradually to great influence and favor, in Mahmood's service. He was even appointed tutor to his son, Jellal. He, in the mean time, requested permission to go to his estate, but he was detained there by business, till his leave of absence expired. Mahmood, dissatisfied with this behavior, reproached him, one day in public, with breach of promise; and Mahommed, of the family of Suor, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with fawnur-ing the interest of Mahmud, the son of the Emperor Secunder. The Sultan was, by this means, so incensed against him, that he intimated, at the time, a design to deprive him of this estate, and to confer it upon his brother Soliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and the only thing that could bring him to a proper sense of his duty.

Mahmood, however, having a great esteem for Shere, against whom nothing was yet proved, laid aside the violent measure to which he was instigated by Mahommed. He, at the same time, by way of alarming him, gave orders to his accuser to inquire into his father's estate, and make an equal division of it among all the brothers. Mahommed, glad of this order, sent one of his servants to Shere to acquaint him, that his brothers, according to the King's commands, were to have their proportionable dividends of the estate which

Proceeds
against him

* Shere signifies a lion
O

A. D. 1542
 Hig. 949. he had hitherto so unjustly withheld from them. Shere returned for answer, that Mahommed was very much mistaken in this matter. That there were no hereditary estates in India, among Mahommedans, for that all lands belonged to the King, which he disposed of at pleasure. That as he himself had a personal grant of his estate, his brethren were entirely out of the question. That he, however, had already consented to give to his brother Soliman a part of the money and moveables, according to law.

Shere at-
 tacked.

When the messenger returned with this answer to Mahommed, who was then at Chond, he was enraged at so flat a denial, and raising all his forces, sent them against Shere, under the command of Shadi, his adopted slave, accompanied by Shere's brothers, Soliman and Ahmed. Shadi's orders were to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Soliman, to protect him in the estate. This resolution being quickly taken, Shere had not time to collect his people; but, upon the first alarm, he wrote to one Malleck, his deputy in the district of Chawaspoor Tandah, to harass the enemy with what troops he had, but to avoid an action till he joined him in person. But Malleck, desirous to distinguish himself, gave them battle, and lost his life and the victory. This unexpected disaster weakened Shere so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahommed; he therefore evacuated the country, and fled to Juneid Birlas, governor of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, on the part of the Emperor Baber. He made Birlas a handsome present, was taken into favor, and obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he defeated Mahommed, who fled to the mountains of Rhotas, so that he not only possessed himself of his own country, but added several other districts to his jagier, which he

Defeats
 Mahom-
 med.

he now held of the Mogul Emperor, Baber. Having rewarded the Moguls who had assisted him, he permitted them to return to their master. He, at the same time, levied troops, and was joined by his former friends, who had fled to the hills, which rendered him very formidable in those parts.

A. D. 1542.
Hig 949.

Sherc having thus established himself in his estate, performed an act of generosity, which, if it was not intended to deceive the world, does him much honor. He recalled his enemy Mahommed, who had fled, and put him in possession of his former estate. This generous treatment converted his greatest enemy into one of his best friends. Sherc having settled his affairs, left his brother Nizain in charge of his country, and paid a visit to his benefactor Juncid Birlafs, at Kurrah. Birlafs was then going to Agra, and Sherc resolved to accompany him thither. He was, upon this occasion, introduced to the Emperor Baber, and attended that prince in his expedition to Chinderi.

His generosity to him.

After Sherc had staid some time in the Mogul camp, and observed their manners and policy, he, one day, told a friend, that he thought it would be an easy matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindostan. His friend asked him, what reason he had to think so? Sherc replied, "That the King himself, though a man of great parts, was but very little acquainted with the policy of Hindostan; and that the minister, who held the reins of government, would be too much biassed in favour of his own interest, to mind that of the public. That therefore if the Patans, who were now at enmity among themselves, could be brought to mutual concord, the work was compleated; and should fortune ever favour him, he imagined himself equal to the task, however difficult it might, at present, appear."

His opinion concerning the Moguls.

"His

A. D. 1542. His friend burst out into a loud laugh, and began to ridicule this vain opinion. Shere, a few days after, had, at the King's table, some solid dishes set before him, with only a spoon to eat them. He called for a knife, but the servants had orders not to supply him with one. Shere, not to lose his dinner, drew his dagger, without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without minding those who diverted themselves at this odd behavior. When he had done, the King, who had been remarking this matter, turned to Amir Chalifa, and said, "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles, and is likely to be a great man,"

Shere perceiving, by these words, that the King had been informed of his private discourse to his friend fled the camp that night, and went to his own estate. He wrote from thence to his benefactor Juneid Birlafs, that as Mahommed had prevailed on Mahmood, King of Behar, to send troops against his jagier, he had in haste left the King's camp, without waiting upon him for leave. He by this means, amused Juneid Birlafs, prevented his chastising him, and at the same time made up matters with Mahmood, with whom he became a greater favorite than before.

Mahmood of Behar dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son Jellal, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sultana Dudu, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices in the government upon Shere. The Sultan dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into the hands of Shere. Allum, the governor of Badgipoor, on the part of Mahmood, King of Bengal, being guilty of some misdemeanor, threw himself under Shere's protection, Mahmood, to revenge this insult, ordered Cuttup, governor of Mongier, with a great force, against Behar. As the

He privately
withdrews.

Shere man-
ages the
government
of Behar.

the forces of Behar were inconsiderable, in comparison of those of Bengal, Shere made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no effect. Finding no arguments could prevail but the sword, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired him a complete victory. Cuttub was slain and all his treasure, elephants, and camp equipage taken, which greatly advanced the political designs of Shere.

After this victory, the Patan tribe of Lohani, the cousins of Jellal, the young King of Behar, envying the fortune of Shere, formed a conspiracy to take away his life. Shere discovered the plot, taxed Jellal with it, who was privy to the conspiracy, being very jealous of the great influence of his minister. He told, on this occasion, to the young prince, that there was no necessity of taking such a base method of getting quit of his servant, for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Shere was ready to resign that government, which he lately so successfully protected. The prince, either suspecting his sincerity, or being equally suspicious of the other omrahs, would, by no means, consent to his resignation. This so much disgusted the conspirators, that they took every possible measure to make a breach between the prince and his minister. Shere, finding that he had no security, but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it, justly excited the prince's jealousy to such a pitch, that, one night, accompanied by his omrahs, he fled to Mahmood, of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Shere, who had usurped his throne.

Mahmood, joining his compassion for the young prince, to his personal hatred to Shere, sent Ibrahim, the son of that Cuttub whom Shere had

A plot
against his
life

Mahmood
of Bengal
attacks
Shere

A.D. 1542.
Hig. 949. had formerly defeated, with a considerable army against the usurper. The Bengaliens besieged Shere in a mud fort, for a long time, without success; so that Ibrahim was obliged to send home for succours. Shere, being informed of this circumstance, came out, offered battle, and, by means of a common stratagem, ordering his troops to fly at the first onset, to draw the enemy into an ambush, defeated them, and took all their guns and elephants. Ibrahim himself was slain in the action, and the young prince Jellâl fled in great distress to Bengal.

All Behar
submits to
him

Shere, by this victory, became lord of all Behar, and grew daily more and more formidable. One Taji was, at this time, governor of the strong fort of Chinâr, which he had held for himself ever since the death of Ibrahim Lodi, Emperor of Hindostan. His wife Ladi Malleki, who was barren, yet for whom he had a very great affection, being envied by his other wives, by whom he had children, they instigated their sons to make away with her. But one of the sons, who had undertaken the murder, missed his blow, and only inflicted a slight wound. Taji, alarmed by her cries, came to her assistance, and drew his sword to kill his son. The son, seeing no means to escape, assaulted his father, and slew him. The sons of Taji were yet too young to be entrusted with the government, and Ladi Malleki drew the reins into her own hands, by her address among the chiefs and zemindars. Shere, informed of these transactions, set a treaty of marriage on foot with Ladi Malleki, which was soon concluded. Shere seized upon Chinâr and the dependant districts, which was a great acquisition to his power, there being a considerable treasure in the place.

Much about this time, Mahmood, the son of the Emperor Secunder Lodi, having taken protection with Rana Sinka, by his assistance, and that of Hassen of Mewat, advanced against the Emperor Baber, and was defeated, as we have already seen, at Janveh. Mahmood, flying to Chitor, was from thence invited by the chiefs of the tribe of Lodi, who were gathered together at Patna, and by them proclaimed King. He made himself soon master of all Behar. Shere perceiving that he could not draw the omrahs over from Mahmood's interest, and that he had not sufficient force to oppose him, submitted to his authority, and, by that means, saved a part of Behar, which the Sultan permitted him to retain. Mahmood told him, at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering Jionpoor from the Moguls, he would return Behar to him; and a contract to that effect was drawn up and executed between them.

Shere, some time after, obtained leave to return to Sehisaram, to levy troops, and Mahmood, marching, with an army, against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. But as Shere delayed for some time, the Sultan, persuaded by his omrahs that he was playing a loose game, marched his army through Shere's estate, on his way to Jionpoor. Shere came out to meet him, had an elegant entertainment provided for his reception, and then marched with him to Jionpoor. The troops of the Emperor Humeroon evacuated the province upon their approach, so that the Afghians took possession of the country as far as Lucknore.

Humeroon lay, at this time, before Callinger, and having heard of the progress of the Afghians, he marched against them. Mahmood having, on this occasion, given a superior command to Bein Baczid, Shere, who thought himself ill-used, betrayed

A.D. 1542.
11: 949.

Shere obtains leave to visit his jagher.

He betrays Mahmood.

A. D. 1542.
 Hig. 949. betrayed his master, and wrote a private letter, the night before the action, to Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself a servant of Baber's family, to whom he owed his advancement, and that he would be the cause of defeating the Afghans next day." He drew off his troops in the action, which occasioned Mahmood's defeat, for which service he was greatly favoured by Humaion. Mahmood, after this defeat, retreated to Patna, retired from the world, and, in the year nine hundred and forty nine, died in Orissa.

Humaion, after this victory, returned to Agra, and sent the noble Hindoo Beg to Shere, to take possession of the fort of Chinâr. Shere excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Humaion returned immediately with his whole army to besiege Chinâr, and, having invested it, he received a letter from Shere, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself one of the servants of the house of Baber, from whom he first obtained a government; and that he had expressed his fidelity, by being the occasion of the late victory. That, therefore, if the King would permit him to retain the government of the fort, he was willing to pay him the proper revenues of the lands which he held, and would send his son, Cuttub, with five hundred horse, to be maintained at his own expence, in the emperor's service." As at this juncture the affairs of Guzerat, by the conquests of Bahadur, required the King's presence, and considering also the strength of Chinâr, Humaion consented to these terms, and, accordingly, being joined by Cuttub, the son of Shere, with five hundred horse, he marched towards Bahadur. The King, however, had scarcely reached Guzerat, when Cuttub deserted with his horse, and returned

returned to his father. Shere immediately raised ^{A. D. 1542.} what forces he could, and reduced Behar. ^{112 942.} Not satisfied with his success, he pursued his fortune, and penetrated into the heart of Bengal, having fought with the omrahs of that country several sharp battles, before he could make himself master of the passes, which were defended a whole month.

Mahmood of Bengal shut himself up in Gour, ^{E. of 22nd Co. r.} the capital, which Shere for a long time besieged. One of the reminders of Behar having raised a disturbance, he left 6000 men to carry on the siege, and returned himself to Behar. Provisions becoming at length very scarce in Gour, Mahmood fled in a boat to Hajipoor; and Shere, having settled affairs in Behar, returned and pursued him. Mahmood being necessitated to give battle, was defeated, and being wounded in the engagement, fled his kingdom, which immediately fell into the hands of the conqueror.

Humaion, returning from his expedition to ^{Humaion to his army 1542} Guzerat, thought it necessary to put a stop to the rising power of Shere. He for that purpose turned towards the reduction of Chinâr. Jellal, a son of Shere, who commanded there, left the defence of the place to Ghazi, of the Soor tribe of Afghans, and retired to the hills of Bercundah, from whence he very much annoyed the besiegers. The siege had been carried on six months, when Runi Chan, who commanded the King's artillery, by some kind of a floating battery, which he sent down the river close to the wall, reduced the place. Humaion left two hundred soldiers in garrison there, and marched towards Bengal. Mahmood, who, as we have already observed, was wounded in the action with Shere, threw himself under the protection of Humaion. When the King had advanced to the pass of Gurhi, which is the frontier of Bengal, he found that

A.D. 1542. that Shere had sent his son Jellal, Chawafs, and
 Hig. 949. a good detachment, to guard that defile. The King sent Kulli, and some other chiefs, to dislodge them ; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being, however, supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls became masters of the pass. Jellal fled to his father Shere at Gour, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of Jarcund, and began to project a scheme for possessing himself of Rhotas, that he might there lodge his family and wealth in security.

Shere, by a stratagem, takes the impregnable fortrefs of Rhotas.

To take Rhotas by open force was an impossible attempt. It was therefore necessary to devise some stratagem, by which success might be hoped. Shere, for this purpose, sent a message to Raja Berkis, who was in possession of this impregnable fortrefs, and told him, “ That as he himself was going to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he hoped, from their former friendship, that he would permit him to send his family and treasure into the place, with a few attendants.” Berkis at first rejected this request, but Shere sent an artful embassador to him, a second time, with some handsome presents, acquainting him, “ That it was only for his women and treasure he requested his princely protection : That should he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgements for the favor on his return ; but if he should lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and wealth should fall into the hands of Berkis, than into those of the Moguls, his inveterate enemies.” Berkis, suffering himself to be deluded by his avarice, determined, when once in possession of the treasure, to keep it, and therefore consented to Shere’s request. The Afghan
 having

having provided covered chairs *, filled them all, except two or three, which were to go first, with armed men and arms. He, at the same time, filled five hundred money bags with leaden bullets, and appointed some of his best soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of slaves, with sticks in their hands, who were destined in appearance to help to carry the treasure up the mountain. The men, who carried the close chairs, were disguised in the same manner. This train accordingly set out, and the first and second chair being examined at the gate, were found to contain only old women, so further examination was neglected. The raja was, in the mean time; busy in counting the bags, which he now reckoned part of his own fortune. When the chairs had reached the house which the raja had appointed, the wolves rushed out among the sheep, and begun to dye the fold with their blood. The porters used their slaves, till they supplied themselves with arms from the chairs. They easily mastered the garrison, who were off their guard, and admitted Shere, who was encamped at a small distance. Berkis himself, with a few followers, found means to escape into the woods, by a private passage behind the fort.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Shere, together with much treasure, which had been accumulating there for ages. The merit of the invention of this stratagem is not due to Shere. The fort of Afere, in the Decan, was, long before, taken in the same manner by Nasir Faroki, the imperial governor of Chandez.

Rhotas is built upon the level top of a mountain; the only entrance to it is a very narrow road, through a steep ascent of two miles, from

*Description
of Rhotas.*

* The same with our sedan chairs.

A.D. 1542. the foot of the hill to the gates, which are three
 Hig. 949. in number, one above another, defended by
 guns and rolling-stones. The square contents of
 the fortified table land, on the top of the moun-
 tain, is more than ten miles. In this space are
 contained towns, villages, and corn fields, and
 water is found a few feet from the surface. On
 one side runs the river Sone, under an immense
 precipice, and another river, in the same manner,
 passes close to the other side, and both meeting a
 little below, form the hill into a triangular penin-
 sula. There is a very deep valley on the third
 side, full of impervious woods, which spread all
 over the mountains, and render access that way
 next to impossible.

Shere.

Shere had now a secure retreat for his family,
 and his friends began to acquire fresh spirits by
 this piece of success. Humaioon, in the mean
 time, spent three months in luxurious pleasures,
 in Gour, the capital of Bengal. He there re-
 ceived advices that his brother prince Hindal,
 had revolted in his governments of Agra and
 Mewat; that he had put to death Shech Phoul,
 the only man of consequence, who would not
 break his allegiance to the emperor, and coined
 money in his own name. Humaioon therefore
 left Kulli, with five thousand horse, in Gour,
 and returned towards Agra.

Overthrows
 Humaioon.

By the excessive rains and bad roads, the
 king's cavalry and beasts of burthen perished in
 great numbers, on his march, through fatigue
 and want of forage. Shere, who had now raised
 a numerous army, entrenched himself on the
 banks of the Jossa, in a place by which the king
 must of necessity pass, and, by treachery, de-
 feated him with great slaughter, in the manner
 which we have already related. Shere did not
 immediately push forward to the capital. Anxi-
 ous to leave no enemy behind him, he returned

to Bengal, engaged Kulli in several battles, de- A. D. 1542.
feated him, and, at length, cut him and his Hig. 949.
army to pieces.

Shere, immediately after the reduction of Ben- Assumes
gal, assumed the imperial title of Shaw, struck the impe-
the coin, and read the chutba, in his own name. rial title.
He marched, the next year, with a great army,
towards Agra. The unfortunate Humaioo was,
by this time, deserted by his brother the prince
Camiran, and hated by his Mogul omrahs, on
account of his attention to his Turkuman mer-
cenaries. He, however, crossed the river with
one hundred thousand horse, and met Shere, who
had but fifty thousand. Shere, as we have al-
ready mentioned, defeated Humaioo, and pur-
sued him to Agra, Lahore, and Choshiab; from
which place the king retreated towards the In-
dus.

Ismaiel, Ghazi, Fatti, and Billoca Duda, all
governors of various provinces in that country,
acknowledged the title of Shere. In his progress,
observing a hill, among the mountains of Belnat,
proper for a fortress, he ordered one to be built,
which he named Rhotas. Chawass Chan, his
faithful servant, to whose bravery and conduct
he owed himself greatly indebted for his fortune,
was now made captain general, with a pension of
a tenth of the royal revenue.

Having left the captain general, and Hybut Reduces
Neazi, with a great army, in the north west, the the sol of
emperor Shere returned towards Agra. He was Bengal.
in that city informed, that Chizer, whom he had
left in the government of Bengal, had married
the daughter of Mahmood, the former King of
that province, and held the state of a sovereign
prince. Having experienced, in his own for-
tune, the danger of permitting such behaviour to
go unpunished, he marched immediately to Ben-
gal; Chizer being unexpectedly surprized, sub-

A.D. 1543.
Hig. 950. mitted without trouble, and was imprisoned. Shere very prudently divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs, independent of one another, and appointed Kafi Fazilit, a native of Kurrah, famous for his learning and policy, to superintend the whole. He himself, after these transactions, retired to Agra.

Reduces
Malava.

In the year nine hundred and forty nine, Shere made a motion towards Malava. Having advanced as far as Gualier, Suja the Afghan; who had before invested the place, on the part of Shere, found means to settle matters with Abul Casim, governor of Gualier for Humaioon, and he delivered up that strong fortress into his hands. Shere having entered Malava, Mullu the Mogul, governor of that province, submitted without a blow. Being, however, a few days after, alarmed by something, he fled from the king's camp, and Hadjee Chan was appointed to that government; Suja had also a jagier conferred upon him in that country. Shere having marched from thence to Rintimpore, Mullu fell upon the governor of Malava, and upon Suja, but he was defeated. Suja having acquired all the honor of the victory, Hadjee was superseded and recalled, and the government conferred upon Suja.

Takes Rin-
timpore.

Shere arriving before Rintimpore, had the address to get possession of that important fortress, from the governor, on the part of the pretended emperor Mahmood, who had still kept it. The emperor, after taking Rintimpore, returned to Agra. He remained in that city a whole year, settling the internal police of the empire, and regulating his army. He, in the mean time, ordered Hybut to wrest Moultan from the tribe of the Bellochies. This Hybut soon effected by defeating Fatti Bellochi, and entirely subduing that country. He had, on account of this exploit, the

the title of Azim Humaioon conferred upon him. A. D. 1543
1152, 950.

In the year nine hundred and fifty, Parān Mull, the son of Sucdeo Parbia, having reduced some neighbouring districts, kept no less than two thousand concubines and dancing girls in his haram. The king, resenting this incroachment upon the privileges of royalty, marched and invested him in the fort of Rasein. The siege being protracted for a long time, Parān began to treat about a capitulation. This was granted to him upon the honorable terms of marching out, with all his arms, treasure, family, garrison, and effects. Parān accordingly marched out with four thousand rajaputs, and, trusting to the faith which had been pledged, encamped at a small distance. But Shere, who never kept the faith of treaties, was easily persuaded, by his base ministers, particularly by Amir Ruffi a Persian, infamously to violate his honor. He surrounded the rajaputs, and ordered them all to be massacred. He, however, paid very dear for this horrid piece of cruelty and treachery. The rajaputs, placing death in one eye and revenge in the other, fought till every man of them was laid dead on the plain, and above double their number of the assassins.

Shere, after this infamous transaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to refresh and recruit his army, he marched towards Marwar. During his march he intrenched himself every night, as well for security, as to exercise his troops, and to make them expert in this necessary service. When he came to cross the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the raja of Nagor and Todnoor, whose name was Maldeo, and esteemed the most powerful Hindoo prince in India. He opposed the king,

*He marches
against
Raja Parān,
for keeping
two thou-
sand con-
cubines*

*He marches
towards
Marwar.*

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1544.
Hig. 951.

king, with fifty thousand rajaputs, and both armies lay thirty days in fight of one another. Shere would now have been glad to retreat quietly. But the danger was too great, at the same time the enemy was so advantageously posted as to render an attack too hazardous. In the midst of this alarming situation, a successful stratagem suggested itself to the king. Maldeo having conquered that country, to which he had no right by inheritance, Shere forged a letter, in the Hindoo language and character, in the name of the raja's generals, addressed to himself, setting forth, "That, being conquered by the raja, they had, through necessity, served him till then with fidelity; but that they were, in secret, very weary of his yoke. That if Shere would, therefore, reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to make him a due acknowledgement for the favor." On this letter Shere superscribed, as usual, in Persian, that they should fear nothing, desiring them to persevere in their intentions, and that they might rest assured, that he would comply with their demand.

Gallant
proposal of
a Rajaput
omrah.

This letter was purposely thrown into the way of Maldeo, who, being always in dread of his chiefs, was easily deceived. He therefore declined the battle, which he intended to give that day. He was even more and more confirmed in his unjust suspicion, by the eagerness which they expressed to engage. Upon the fourth day he ordered a retreat; but Cunia, one of his principal omrahs, having found out in what manner Maldeo had been deceived by these forgeries, endeavoured to persuade him of his mistake. Having found that the raja's suspicion could not be removed, he told him, That the suspected treachery was unprecedented among true Rajaputs, and that he was determined to wipe off the stain which Maldeo had thrown upon their reputation, with

with his own blood, or the conquest of Shere, A D 1545.
1112 951.
with his own tribe.

Maldeo continued to retreat, but the gallant With his
own tribe
and attacks
Shere
Cunia, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men separated themselves from their prince and turned back, with an intent to surprise Shere's camp. They, however, by some mistake, lost their way, and it was fair day light before they saw the enemy. Shere immediately formed, and came out against them. Though the king's army, by the smallest computation, consisted of eighty thousand fighting men, this handful of brave Rajaputs repulsed them repeatedly, and would have certainly defeated them, if Jellal Selwani had not at that instant arrived with a fresh reinforcement, to join the imperial army. Shere falling upon the Rajaputs with renewed vigor, broke them; and the brave Cunia, with almost his army, were cut to pieces.

Shere, finding himself in possession of a victory Remarka-
ble saying
of Shere
of which he had at one time despaired, exclaimed, "That, for a handful of barley, he had almost given the Empire of India to the wind." This grain, it seems, was all the scanty produce of that sandy country, for which the inhabitants fought with so much obstinacy. Maldeo having heard of this action, and the loss of so many brave men, fell into deep affliction; and being, for his pusillanimity, deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Sodpoor.

Shere, after this bloody victory, turned his Shere takes
Chitor
army towards the fort of Chitor, which was surrendered to him by capitulation. He then directed his march to Rintimpore, and gave that country in jagier to his son Adil Chan, who fixed his residence there. The King, in person, moved
towards

A. D. 1545. towards Callinger, which is esteemed one of the
 Hig. 952. strongest forts in Hindostan. The Indian prince
 of Callinger, on account of the king's treacherous
 behaviour to Paran Mull, would make no sub-
 mission, but prepared himself for hostilities.
 Shere, having drawn a line of circumvallation,
 begun to carry on his approaches to the place ;
 he raised mounds of earth for his artillery, and
 sunk mines under the rock. The royal batteries
 were now advanced very near the walls, breaches
 were made, and a general assault ordered, when
 a live shell, which had been thrown against the
 fort by the imperialists, rebounded back into the
 battery in which the king stood. The shell burst
 in the midst of a quantity of powder, which had
 not been properly secured. Several gunners were
 blown up ; the king, and many of his omrahs,
 were burnt in so terrible a manner, that they
 were carried for dead to their tents.

Burnt by
 the blowing
 up of pow-
 der.

Dies.

In this dreadful condition the king began to
 breathe, in great agonies ; he, however, encour-
 aged the continuance of the attack, and gave
 orders, till in the evening news was brought him
 of the reduction of the place. He then cried out,
 " Thanks to the Almighty God," and expired.
 The death of Shere happened on the twelfth of
 the first Ribbi, in the year nine hundred and fifty
 two. He spent fifteen years in a military life be-
 fore he mounted the throne ; and he sat upon the
 musnud five years, as emperor of Hindostan.

His charac-
 ter.

The character of Shere is almost equally divid-
 ed between virtue and vice. Public justice pre-
 vailed in the kingdom, while private acts of trea-
 chery dishonoured the hands of the king. He
 seemed to have made breach of faith a royal pro-
 perty, which he would by no means permit his
 subjects to share with him. We ought, perhaps,
 to ascribe this vice to the ambition of Shere. Had
 he been born to the throne, he might have been
 just,

just, as he was valiant and politic in war: Had A.D. 1545.
Hig. 932. he confined his mind to his estate, he might merit the character of a virtuous chief; but his great soul made him look up to the empire, and he cared not by what steps he was to ascend.

Shere left many monuments of his magnificence His magni-
ficence. behind him. From Bengal and Sennargaum, to that branch of the Indus called the Nilib, which is fifteen hundred crores*, he built caravanserais at every stage, and dug a well at the end of every crore. Besides, he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran and Priests. He ordered that at every stage, all travellers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expence. He, at the same time, planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, to preserve travellers from the scorching heat of the sun, as well as to gratify their taste. Horse-posts were placed at proper distances, for forwarding quick intelligence to government, and for the advantage of trade and correspondence. This establishment was new in India. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, throwing down their goods, went without fear to sleep on the highway.

It is said that Shere being told that his beard grew white, replied, It was true, that he had obtained the empire towards the evening. He divided his time into four equal parts: One he appropriated to the distribution of public justice, one to the regulations of his army, one to worship, and the remainder to rest and recreation. He was buried at Sessaram, his original estate, in His atten-
tion to bu-
siness.

* About three thousand of our miles.

A. D. 1545. a magnificent sepulchre which he had built in the
 Hig. 952. middle of a great reservoir of water †.

State of Asia. Tamasp still sat on the throne of Persia, and
 reigned in peace, during the usurpation of Shere
 in Hindostan.

† This fine monument of the magnificence of Shere still remain
 entire. The artificial lake, which surrounds it, is not much less
 than a mile in length.

S E L I M.

WHEN Shere became numbered with the dead, his eldest son, Adil, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Rintimpore, and his younger son, Jellal, in the village of Rewin, near Pheta. The omrahs, who favored Jellal more than his brother, then at so great a distance, pretended the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible. They, for that purpose, dispatched expresses to Jellal, who arrived in five days in the camp. Jellal, by the influence of Isah Chan, and his party, mounted the throne, in the fortress of Callinger, upon the seventeenth of the first Ribbi, in the year nine hundred and fifty two, and assumed the title of Isam Shaw, which, by false pronounciation, was turned to that of Selim, by which name he is more generally known. Selim, having taken upon him the imperial dignity, wrote to his elder brother, in the following words: "Adil being at so great a distance, and I so near, to prevent disturbance, I took upon me the command of the army till his return. But my intentions are only to forward my brother's interest, and to support his authority." Jellal, after writing this letter, marched from Callinger towards Agra, and at Kurrah was met by Chawass, captain general of his father's forces, who renewed the ceremonies of royalty, and placed Selim a second time on the throne, holding a magnificent festival

A. D. 1555.
 Hig. 95.
 Jellam
 mounts t
 throne b
 the name
 Selim.

A. D. 1545. festival upon that occasion. From Kurrah, Selim
 Hig. 952. wrote another letter to his brother, begging in the most affectionate terms, that he would come and see him.

His elder
 brother
 writes
 about the
 succession.

Adil wrote to the chiefs in the court of Selim, particularly to Cuttub, Ifah, Chawafs, and Jellal Salwani, to know to what purpose he was invited, and what he was to hope from them. He, at the same time, returned to his brother for answer, "That, if he would send these four chiefs to him, with proper assurances, he would come." Selim sent accordingly the four omrahs to Adil, to assure him, in the most solemn manner, that he would permit him, if he pleased, to depart after the first interview: But that, as the omrahs had invested him with the imperial power, he could not be so ungrateful as to desert them. However, to make some compensation to Adil, for the empire, he was determined to give him his choice of any of the provinces in free jagier. Adil, upon these assurances, proceeded to Agra. When he had reached the village of Sikri*, Selim was out on a hunting party, near that place, and appointed carpets to be spread for their interview. Here the brothers dissembled the greatest affection for one another, and after some discourse set out for Agra. Selim, who wanted to seize his brother, gave private orders, that only a few of his retinue should be admitted into the citadel; but Adil had also given orders to his people to press in, at all hazards, which they accordingly did, in spite of every opposition.

Transac-
 tions in the
 palace.

Selim saw, that, without running a great risque, nothing could be effected against his brother, who was so much upon his guard. He,

* Now Fattepoor.

therefore,

therefore, had recourse to flattery and dissimulation. He even proceeded so far, as to lay hold of Adil's hand, to place him upon the throne. Adil, who was naturally a timorous and indolent man, rejected this proposal, knowing how little he had in trust from the omrahs, and a deceitful, ambitious brother. Selim was well aware of all this before he made this extraordinary offer. A.D. 1545.
Hiz. 952.

Just as Selim expected, so it fell out; Adil, Adil makes
a solemn
resignation
of the em-
pire. intimidated by the disturbance which had been made at the gate, made a voluntary resignation of his birthright, and placing Selim on the throne, saluted him emperor. This was instantly followed by all the court, who were waiting with impatience the issue of this extraordinary farce. They immediately advanced to the throne in succession, and, according to their rank, presented their nazirs*, while others exhibited the ceremony of the isar†, crying out aloud, "We offer our lives and fortunes to the king." The ceremonies being ended, Cuttub, and the other omrahs, who had passed their words to Adil, requested, that, as he had pitched upon Biana for his estate, he according to promise, should be regularly invested with that province, and permitted to depart. Selim consented, and all matters being settled, he gave Adil leave to quit Agra, accompanied by Isah and Chawafs.

But after two months, Selim gave to Ghazi Malli, one of his eunuchs, a pair of golden fet- Chawafs
kindles a
rebellion in
favor of
Adil.

* Offerings made upon public occasions to the emperor.

† Isar, or Tessiduck, is a ceremony used upon the accession of a prince to the throne; the omrahs running three times round the king, waving an offering of money, in a charger, three times over the monarch's head. This money is afterwards delivered over to the royal almoner, to be distributed in charity, as indeed are all offerings made to the emperor.

ters,

A.D. 1545.
Hig. 952. ters, to go and bring Adil prisoner to court. Adil, having timely intelligence of this design against him, set out for Mewat, where the captain general then resided. He acquainted that omrah, with tears, of his brother's baseness. Chawafs, whose honor was concerned in this affair, was roused with compassion for the unfortunate prince. He seized upon Ghazi Mahli, placed his fetters upon his own legs, and exalted the spear of rebellion against Selim.

The interest of Chawafs was great among the omrahs. He wrote to them private letters, and brought many over to his party. A great army was soon raised, and Chawafs, with Adil and Isah, marched towards Agra. He, upon his way, received letters from Cuttub and Jellal, who thought themselves dishonoured by the king's behaviour towards his brother, assuring him of their assistance.

Selim in
great per-
plexity.

When the confederate chiefs arrived before Agra, Selim, at the unexpected visit, was thrown into the utmost perplexity. He called Cuttub and Jellal to his presence, and reproached them for not dissuading him from that impolitic step which had drawn upon him such dangerous consequences. Cuttub replied, "That the business was not yet irremediable; that he would undertake to settle every thing in an amicable manner." Selim not suspecting the fidelity of the two omrahs, immediately desired that they should go to Adil, and compromise affairs. When they were gone, Selim discovered to his friends his intentions of flying to Chinâr, where the treasure was lodged, and there to raise an army to reduce his brother, whom he was not at present in a condition to oppose. Isah Hujâb dissuaded him from this resolution. He told him, "That he had with him ten thousand Chermalli Patans, who had served under him before he ascended the throne,

throne, whom he could not suspect of disaffec- A. D. 1545
1112 512. tion, besides many other faithful servants. That therefore, it was the height of folly, to trust the empire, which God had given him, to the future caprice of fortune, when he had it in his power to defend it instantly in the field. Do not, said Isah, throw away the friends whom you have acquired in your prosperity, with a vain hope to pick up others in the season of distress. The wisest course for you, continued the omrah, is to appear at the head of your troops, and to fix the foot of resolution on the field of war. This will secure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy."

Selim, encouraged by this bold advice, re- Overthrew
11. brutal solved to stand his ground. He immediately dispatched a message to Cuttub, and the other omrahs, who had not yet set out, to accommodate matters with Adil, and commanded them to his presence. He told them, That having altered his mind, he was resolved not to trust his faithful omrahs in the hands of his enemies. He forthwith ordered his troops to their arms, marched out of the city, and formed his army on the plain. The omrahs, who had promised to favour the prince Adil, seeing their king in the field, ashamed to betray him, were necessitated to fight, which greatly disconcerted Chawass, who, every minute, expected they would join him. He, however, fought with great bravery, but he was overthrown.

Adil, after this unfortunate battle, fled to- Add & ap-
pear. wards Patna, but he soon disappeared, and was never heard of afterwards. Chawass and Isah, fled to Mewat. Selim sent an army in pursuit of those omrahs, but they came off victorious, at Firoospoor. The imperial army being soon after reinforced, the rebel chiefs were obliged to re-
treat

A. D. 1545.
Hig. 952. treat among the mountains of Cumaoon. Selim sent Cuttub in pursuit of them, and he plundered all the countries lying about the skirts of the hills, without effecting any thing against them. Selim, after these transactions, marched to Chinâr. On the way, he was informed of the treasonable correspondence of Jellal with the prince Adil, before the late decisive battle, and ordered him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the conspiracy. The king having arrived at Chinâr, he took out of that fortress all the treasure, sent it to Gualier, and returned himself to Agra. Cuttub, finding that Selim was no stranger to the part which he had acted in the late disturbances, was afraid to return to court. He fled, therefore, to Hybut governor of Lahore, known by the title of Azim Humaioon, and claimed his protection. The emperor dispatched orders to Lahore, to send Cuttub to Agra, with which Azim Humaioon complied. The unfortunate Cuttub, upon his arrival, was sent prisoner to Gualier, with many other suspected persons, particularly Shebas Lohani, the king's brother-in-law, whose eyes were put out. The governor of Lahore and Suja, who ruled over the province of Malava, were, much about this time, called to court. The first excused himself, and the latter, obeying the summons, had the address to clear himself of what he was accused, and so was reinstated in his government.

Rebellions
quashed.

The king, after these transactions, moved towards Rhotas, to bring the treasure, which his father had deposited in that place, to Agra. Seid the brother of Humaioon, governor of Lahore, deserted him on the way, and fled to Lahore. The king, from this circumstance, concluded that a rebellion was in agitation, which determined

determined him to return immediately to Agra. A D. 1543. Hg. 955.
 He soon assembled his forces from all quarters, and marched to Delhi, where he ordered the new city which the emperor Humaioun had built, to be walled in with stone. At Delhi, Suja joined him with the army from Malava. The king remained only a few days in Delhi to regulate his army, and then took the route of Lahore. Azim Humaioun, Chawafs, and other disaffected chiefs, with double the king's forces, came out before him at Ambatta. Selim arriving within sight of the rebels, dismounted, and, with a few friends, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring; when he had for some time viewed their disposition, he said: "It is not consistent with my honor to have any patience with a rebellious army," and, at these words, he ordered his line to be formed, and to advance against them. It happened very fortunately for the affairs of Selim, that, upon the preceding night, there had arisen a dispute among the rebel generals, about the succession to the throne. Chawafs still a friend to the family of his patron Shere, insisted that search should be made for prince Adil, and Azim Humaioun strenuously affirmed, "That the empire was no man's inheritance, but should always follow the fortune of the sword." This plainly pointed out his own views. On this head, animosity and faction arose, so that as soon as the rebels had formed the line, Chawafs retreated, with all his troops, without striking a blow. This circumstance so much discouraged the remaining part of the rebels, that their resistance was faint, and, an unexpected victory fell to Selim.

But, in the midst of this tide of good fortune, An attempt upon the life of Selim.
 the emperor narrowly escaped with his life, from
 VOL. II. O a daring

A.D. 1548.
Hig. 955.

a daring attempt of Seid, the brother of Azim Humaioon. This gallant chief, with ten of his friends in armour, mixed, without discovery, with the king's troops, and advanced towards him, as if they were about to congratulate him upon his victory. An elephant-driver, who stood near the king, observed and knew Seid, and struck him with his spear: Yet, in spite of all the guards, and the army which stood round, Seid and his party cut their way through, sword in hand, and escaped. The rebels, who called themselves the Neazies, being mostly of that family, retreated, after this defeat, to Dincot, near Rop, in the mountains, Selim pursuing them as far as the new fort of Rhotas, which his father had built. He, from thence, detached Chaja Serwani, with a strong force after them, and returned himself to Agra, and from thence soon after proceeded to Gualier. Suja, governor of Malava, going one day up to the fort before the king, one Osman, a person whom Suja had deprived of his right hand some time before, had concealed himself by the side of the road, with a desperate intention to be revenged upon that omrah. The assassin rushed out upon Suja, and inflicted a wound with his dagger. Suja, without enquiring into the matter, imagined that the whole was done by the instigation of the king, and therefore fled, with great precipitation, and made his way towards Malava, with all his forces. The king pursued him as far as Mundu, but hearing that he had fled to Banfwalla, he returned, leaving his own cousin, with twenty thousand horse, at Ugein, to observe his motions. This happened in the year nine hundred and fifty four.

Chaja defeated by
the Neazi
rebels.

Chaja Serwani having been some time before left to carry on the war against the Neazi rebels, engaged

engaged them near Dincot, and was defeated by Azim Humaioun, who pursued him as far as Sirhind. Selim hearing of this defeat, assembled a great army, and dispatched it, under proper generals, against the rebels. Azim Humaioun was obliged to retreat in his turn to Dincot. The rebels turned upon the imperial army at Simbolla, but were overthrown with great slaughter. Azim Humaioun's mother, and all his family, were taken prisoners. The Neazi rebels, after this defeat, threw themselves under the protection of the Gickers among the mountains bordering on Cashmire. Selim, finding that he could never have rest in peace without effectually quashing this rebellion, marched in person towards the Indus, and, for the space of two years, carried on a war with the Gickers who supported the Neazies.

In this expedition a person concealed himself in the narrow path, by which the emperor one day ascended the mountain of Mannicot, and rushed upon him with a drawn sword. Selim, having time to draw, saved himself, and killed the assassin, and perceived that his sword was one that he himself had formerly presented to Fekbal Chan. The Gickers being driven from one place to another, without being in a condition to face the emperor, Azim Humaioon, with his followers, went into the kingdom of Cashmire; but the prince of that country, fearing Selim's resentment, opposed the rebels, and, having defeated them, sent the heads of Azim Humaioon, his brother Scid, and Shabafs to the king. Selim being now secured against further disturbance from that quarter, returned to Delhi. The prince Camiran, much about this time, flying from his brother

A. D. 1550.
Hig. 957.

Selim
marches
against Hu-
maioon.

ther the emperor Humaioon, who was now on his way from Persia, took protection under Selim. But he was very ill received by that prince, and he therefore fled to the mountains of Sewalic, among the Gickers.

Selim, after returning from his expedition, had only remained a few days at Delhi, when he received advices, that the emperor Humaioon had reached that branch of the Indus which is distinguished, by the name of the Nilab, or the blue river. The king was at that instant drawing blood by cupping; he immediately started up, issued orders to march, and he himself encamped, that evening, six miles without the city. He there waited for his artillery, which was dragged by men, till the bullocks, which were grazing in the country, could be brought together. The artillery being very heavy, each gun was drawn by one or two thousand men; yet, in this manner, he marched, with great expedition, towards Lahore. But, in the mean time, Humaioon retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel. Selim returned to Delhi, and from thence proceeded to Gualier, where he took up his residence.

A plot
against Se-
lim's life.

Selim taking, one day, the diversion of the chase, near Atri, a body of banditti, who had been set on by some of the king's enemies, lay in ambush, to take his life. But he perceived them time enough to avoid the snare. When they were seized and examined, they impeached many chiefs who were immediately executed, after which the king became extremely suspicious, and put numbers to death upon small pretensions.

Chawafs
assassinated.

Chawafs, the captain general of the armies of Shere, of whom frequent mention has already been

been made, a man justly renowned for personal courage, strict honor, great abilities in war, and extensive generosity, being long driven about from place to place, came to Taji Kirrani, who had owed his preferment to him, and was now governed by Simbol. The ungrateful villain, in violation of his oath, and the laws of hospitality, to ingratiate himself with Selim, basely assassinated Chawafs. His body being carried to Delhi, was there interred. His tomb is frequented by the devout to this day, they numbering him among the saints.

Not long after this base assassination, in which Selim died. Selim was concerned, he was seized with a fistula in ano, by which, in the year nine hundred and sixty, he bled to death, having reigned nine years. In the same year, Mahmood the Patan King of Guzerat, and the Nizam of the Decan, who was of the same nation, died. Selim possessed not the abilities of his father, and consequently carried neither his virtues nor his vices to such extremes. He, in some measure, suited the times in which he lived; and was rather a necessary than a good prince. A man of an upright mind might have staggered in the stream of corruption, which then prevailed, but Selim stood firm, by meeting the world in its own way. He possessed personal bravery, and was not unskilful in the field of war. Like Shere, he was magnificent, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus, he built an intermediate serai, between each of those which his father had erected; all who passed along the great road being entertained at the public expence.

A.D. 1552.
Hig. 960.

In the reign of Selim, Shech Allai, a philosopher of Biana, made a great noise in the world, by introducing a new system of religion. He called himself Emam Mendi, who is believed by some to be the last of the prophets, and will conquer the world. The impostor having raised great disturbances in the empire, converted some thousands by force and persuasion. After being twice banished by Selim, he returned, and kindled fresh troubles, and was, in the year nine hundred and fifty five, scourged to death at Agra, by order of the king. He remained firm to his doctrine in the agonies of death; but his religion was not long maintained by his disciples.

Feroze
mounts the
throne.

When Selim travelled the road of mortality, his son, Feroze, was at twelve years of age, raised to the throne, by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualier. He had not reigned three days, when Mubarick, the son of Nizam Soor, nephew to the late Emperor Shere, brother of Selim's wife, and the uncle of Feroze, assassinated the young prince. Mubarick assumed the title of Mahommed Adil *, to which his infamous treason had no right, and usurped the empire. He perpetrated this barbarous deed with his own hand, in the Mahl. The villain's own sister, Bibi Bai, defended, for some time, her son in her arms, presenting her body to the dagger. In vain did she intreat and weep: the wretch was hardened against pity. He tore the young prince from her arms; and, in her presence, severed his head from his body. This was the return which he made to the unfortunate Bibi Bai, for saving his life, repeated

Is barbarously murdered.

* Adil signifies the Just.

times, when Selim, foreseeing his villainies, A.D. 1552.
Hig 960. would have put him to death.

The state of Persia suffered no change, during State of
Asia. the reign of Selim in India. Tamasp continued upon the throne.

M A H O M M E D VI.

A.D. 1552.
Hig. 960.

Mahom-
med illite-
rate.

THE infamous Mahommed, having always given himself up to pleasure, neglected even the common accomplishment of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate fellows like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the empire, among whom one Himu, an Indian shop-keeper, whom the Emperor Selim had raised to be superintendant of the markets, was now entrusted with all the weight of the administration.

His foolish
prodigality.

The king, in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in all the luxurious debaucheries of the Haram. Having heard much in praise of some of the former Emperors, particularly Feroze, for their great generosity, he mistook prodigality for that virtue, and to outdo them all, opened the treasury, and lavished it on good and bad, without distinction. When he rode out, he used to head arrows with gold, which he shot among the multitude. This foolish extravagance soon made away with the great treasures of his predecessors; and all his reward from the people was the nickname of Adili; which, in the Indian language, signifies literally the Blind, and metaphorically, the Foolish.

The om-
rahs discon-
tented.

When Himu found himself invested with the whole executive power of the empire, his pride and insolence, though otherwise a man of good parts, exceeded all bounds. This naturally made all the Patan chiefs his enemies. They began to conspire

A.D. 1552.
 1112.960.

conspire for his destruction, and to revolt from his authority. The King became more and more despicable, every day, in the eyes of the people, while all order and government totally declined. Mahommed giving, one day, public audience, and distributing estates and governments among his omrah's, he ordered the province of Kinnoge to be taken from Firmalli, and given to Sermust Sirbunna. Secunder, the son of Firmalli, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the Emperor, "Is my fortune, then, to be conferred on a feller of dogs?" for it appears that Sermust was descended of one of that low occupation. The elder Firmalli, who was also present, endeavoured to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more. He charged the King, in plain terms, with a base design to extirpate his family. Sermust, who was a man of unenimous strength and stature, seeing this behaviour to the King, and being also personally affronted, seized Secunder by the breast; Secunder drew his dagger, and killed him on the spot. He then slew at all those who endeavoured to oppose him, killed several chiefs, and wounded many more. He then made directly for the King, who leapt from the throne, and ran into the Mahl; Secunder pursuing him, had the door struck in his face, which stopped his progress, till Mahommed drew the bolt, and secured himself. The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed in his design upon Mahommed, resolved to revenge himself upon his base minions, and rushing back into the audience chamber, dealt death to all who opposed him. In the mean time, Ibrahim of the tribe of Soor, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, attacked Secunder with some of his people, and cut him to pieces. Dowlat Lohani killed, at the same time, the

A. D. 1553. the good old man, Firmalli, who could not have
 Hig. 961. been blamed for his son's rashness.

Taji with- The unfortunate Firmalli, having met Taji
 draws from Kerrani, as he was going that day to the presence
 court. chamber, he asked that omrah whither he was go-
 ing; to which the other replied, "That affairs had
 taken such an extraordinary turn, at court, that
 he was determined to push his own fortune, and
 would be glad that Firmalli would partake it with
 him." Firmilli answered, "That he aspired to
 no fortune but what he possessed by favor of the
 crown, for which he was going to pay his com-
 pliments;" but such as we have seen was his re-
 ward. Taji, as soon as he got out of the fort,
 took the way of Bengal, with all his dependents.
 Troops were dispatched to pursue him; they
 came up with him at Chuppera Mow, about eighty
 miles from Agra, where he fought them, and
 made good his retreat to Chinâr. He, in his
 progress, seized the public money, and other ef-
 fects belonging to the crown; and distributed one
 hundred elephants among his brothers, and other
 relations, who had possessions in the province of
 Bujipoor. By their assistance he raised a formi-
 dable army, which obliged the King to take the
 field, and march towards Chinâr. The insur-
 gents meeting him upon the banks of the Ganges,
 above Chinâr, they were defeated and disper-
 fed.

The King
 jealous of
 Ibrahim's
 popularity.

The King, becoming jealous of the popularity
 of Ibrahim Soor, gave private orders to seize
 him; but his wife, who was sister to the King,
 having heard of this design in the Muhl, told her
 husband of it. He fled from Chinâr to his fa-
 ther, Ghazi, governor of Biana, and was pursu-
 ed by Isah Neazi, who coming up with him at
 Calpee, an engagement ensued, in which Isah was
 defeated, and driven back from further pursuit.
 Ibrahim, soon after, raised a great army, and
 possessed

possessed himself of the city of Delhi, where he mounted the throne, assumed the ensigns of royalty, marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces. A D 1551.
Hig 561.

Mahommed marched from Chinâr to suppress this usurpation, and, on the way, received an embassy from Ibrahim. promising that if he would send Hussein, and other chiefs, with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The King was weak enough to comply with his request. The omrahs went; and Ibrahim, by presents, promises, and courteous behaviour, soon drew them over to his own interest. Mahommed, finding himself in no condition to oppose so strong a confederacy, fled towards Chinâr, and contented himself with the eastern provinces. Ibrahim immediately erected the spear of empire in the west, by the title of Sultan Ibrahim. Mahommed deserted by his omrahs

I B R A H I M III.

A. D. 1553.
Hig. 196.

A competitor in
Punjab assumes the
royal title.

I B R A H I M had no sooner mounted the throne, than another competitor started up in the province of the five rivers, known by the name of Punjab. This was Ahmed, a nephew of the Emperor Shere, and also brother-in-law to Mahommed, the expelled Emperor. Ahmed having attached to himself Hybut, and other chiefs raised to the dignity of omrahs, by the late Emperor Selim, to his interest, assumed the title of Secunder Shaw, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Firrah, within four miles of that city. Ibrahim, with seventy thousand horse, came out to meet him, having, in this army, two hundred omrahs who pitched velvet tents, and possessed the dignities of the spear, drum, and colours.

Secunder, seeing this formidable army, began to repent of his invasion, and made overtures of peace. The only condition he asked, was the government of Punjab. But Ibrahim, puffed up with the pride of his own superiority, would grant him no terms, and therefore both armies drew up and engaged. Secunder committed all the ensigns of royalty to one of his omrahs, and, with a choice body of horse, took post among some trees, where he could not be discovered. Ibrahim, upon the first charge, broke through the army of Secunder; his troops quitted their ranks, and were intent upon nothing but plunder; when Secunder, rushing out upon them, struck

struck a panic into the whole army; they immediately took to flight, and were pursued by those whom they had so easily discomfited before. The Emperor Ibrahim, after this defeat, abandoned his capital, and retreated to Simlra. Secunder took possession both of Agra and Delhi; but he had not long enjoyed his fortune, when he was obliged to march to Punjab, in opposition to the Mogul Emperor Humayun; for that monarch, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions.

During the absence of Secunder, the Emperor Ibrahim marched towards Calpee; and, at the same time, Mahomed, the expelled Emperor, dispatched Hudu, his vizier, with a formidable army, well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chinâr, with a view to recover his empire. Hudu engaged Ibrahim at Calpee, and gave him a signal defeat. Ibrahim, flying to his father at Biana, was pursued by Hudu, who besieged him in that city, for three months.

In the mean time, Mahommud of the Afghan family of Ghor, governor of Bengal, rebelled against Mahomed, and led an army against him. This circumstance obliged that prince to recall Hudu from the siege of Biana; and the Emperor Ibrahim, emboldened by the retreat of the enemy, pursued them, and coming up with Hudu at Mindakir, near Agra, gave him battle; but he was again defeated, and obliged to fly back to his father, at Biana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim could not, however, be still: He marched towards Bhetali, and engaging the Indian prince of that country, was defeated and taken prisoner. He was used with the utmost respect, till the Patans of Miani obtained him from the Raja, and appointed him their chief. Under him they commenced a war against Bahadar, governor

A D. 1554.
1159.

Hudu over-
threw
Ibrahim

The go-
vernors of
Bengal re-
bels

A.D. 1554. verner of Malava, who had assumed independ-
 Hig. 962. ance; but the bad fortune of Ibrahim still pur-
 sued him, he was beat, and fled to Orissa.
 That province being conquered in the year nine
 hundred and seventy five, by Solimân Kerrani,
 one of the generals of the Mogul Emperor Ak-
 bar, the unfortunate Ibrahim was taken and put
 to death.

Himu de
 feats and
 slays the
 governor
 of Bengal.

To return from this digression; when Himu
 joined his master Mahommed at Chinâr, he re-
 ceived advices that the Emperor Humaioon had
 defeated Secunder, the pretended Patan Empe-
 ror, and possessed himself of Delhi and Agra.
 Himu, however, marched against the revolted
 governor of Bengal, who gave him the slip, by
 crossing the hills near Rhotas, and entering the
 country of Bundelcund. He was pursued thither
 by Himu: The two armies came to action at the
 village of Chircut, thirty miles from Calpee, and
 the rebel was slain. Mahommed, after this vic-
 tory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to
 Chinâr, to assemble more troops for carrying on
 the war with Humaioon. But he was soon after
 informed of that monarch's death; which indu-
 ced him to send Himu, with fifty thousand horse,
 and five hundred elephants, towards Agra, not
 daring to leave Chinâr himself, on account of the
 violent factions which then subsisted among his
 countrymen the Patans.

Drives the
 Moguls
 from Agra,
 and from
 Delhi.

Himu arriving before Agra, the Mogul omrahs
 who were there, being too weak to oppose him,
 fled to Delhi. He pursued them thither, and
 Tirdi Beg, governor of Delhi, giving him battle,
 was defeated, and fled towards the Indus, leav-
 ing Himu in possession of both the imperial cities
 of Agra and Delhi. The Indian meditated the
 conquest of Lahore; but the celebrated Byram,
 of the nation of the Turkumans, a man of policy
 in the closet, as well as abilities in the field, who
 had

I B R A H I M III.

had been left by the will of Humaioun, guardian A. N. 1554.
 of his son Akbar, during his nonage, sent Ze- Illig. 962.
 mân, a Mogul noble, with all expedition, to-
 wards Delhi. He himself followed, with the
 young King. Himu marched out to meet Ze-
 mân, drew up on the plains of Panniput, and
 charging the Moguls with great bravery, threw
 them into disorder. But the Patans, always
 more mindful of plunder, than of securing vic-
 tory, were again attacked by the Moguls, and
 defeated. Himu was surrounded, and taken pri-
 soner, and being carried before the King, con-
 demned to death.

After the death of the unfortunate Himu, who <sup>The for-
 tune of</sup>
 had certainly great abilities, notwithstanding his <sup>his Ma-
 hommed de-
 clines.</sup>
 mean descent, the fortune of his master Ma-
 hommed declined apace. In the mean time,
 Chizer, the son of the governor of Bengal, who
 was slain in battle by Himu, to revenge the death
 of his father, raised an army, and assuming the
 title of Sultan Bahadar, possessed himself of a
 great part of the eastern provinces. He led an <sup>He is de-
 scended and</sup>
 army against Mahommed, defeated, and slew
 him. The anarchy and confusions in Hindostan,
 at this period, rendered it impossible to continue
 the direct chain of our history in the order of
 time. We therefore must turn back to what we
 have omitted of the history of Secunder, who
 had assumed the imperial title at Agra, and af-
 terwards to a detail of the adventures of Hu-
 maioun, during his exile:

Secunder, after having ascended the throne of <sup>Secunder's
 speech to
 the om-
 rals.</sup>
 Agra, in the year nine hundred and sixty-two,
 made a magnificent festival, and calling together
 all his chiefs, spoke to them to this effect:
 "I esteem myself as one of you, having thus far
 acted for the common weal. I claim no supe-
 riority. Beloli raised the tribe of Lodi to an
 uncommon height of glory and reputation;
 "Shere,

A.D. 1554. " Shere, by unparalleled conduct and resolution,
 Hig. 962. " rendered the tribe of Soor famous to all pos-
 " terity; and now, Humaioon, heir to his fa-
 " ther's conquests, is watching for an opportu-
 " nity to destroy us all. If, therefore, you sin-
 " cerely affect my government, and will throw
 " aside private faction and animosities, our king-
 " dom will be adorned with all the flowers of
 " prosperity. But if you should think me inca-
 " ble of that great charge, let an abler head, and
 " a stronger arm, be elected from among you,
 " that I also may swear allegiance to him; that
 " with my life and fortune I may support him,
 " and endeavour to keep the empire of India in
 " the hands of the Patans, who have ruled it for
 " so many ages by their valor." The omrah's,
 " after hearing this speech, answered with one ac-
 " cord, " We unanimously elect you, the nephew
 " of our Emperor Shere, for our lawful sove-
 " reign." Calling then for a Coran, all swore al-
 " legiance to Secunder, and to preserve unanimity
 " among themselves. However, in a few days,
 " they began to dispute about governments, ho-
 " nours, and places. The flames of enmity were
 " kindled higher than ever, and every one re-
 " proached his fellow with perfidy, of which he
 " himself was equally guilty.

They elect
 him King.

He is re-
 peatedly
 defeated by
 the Mo-
 guls.

Humaioon, in the mean time, marched from
 Cabul and the side of Persia towards the Indus.
 Tatar, who commanded for the Patans in Pun-
 jab, fled from the new fort of Rhotas, to Delhi,
 and the Moguls subdued all the country as far as
 Lahore. Secunder, upon receiving these advi-
 ces, sent forty thousand horse, under the com-
 mand of Tatar and Hybut, to expel the Moguls.
 But this army was defeated, lost all their ele-
 phants and baggage, never drawing bridle, till
 they arrived at Delhi. Secunder, though sen-
 sible of the disaffection and factious state of his
 army,

army, marched with eighty thousand horse towards Punjab, and engaging Byram, the tutor of prince Akbar, near Sirhind, was defeated, and fled towards the mountains of Sewalic. ^{A D 1554.}
^{116 562.}
The empire of India, with this victory, fell again into the hands of the house of Baber, and flourished; while, in the mean time, the infamous Mahommed Adil died by the hands of his enemies, in the kingdom of Bengal.

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

HUMAIKON IN PERSIA.

A. D. 1544.
Hig. 951.
Humaioon
arrives in
Persia.

WE have already seen that the emperor Humaioon, having arrived at Kizvi in Persia, dispatched the noble Byram to the Persian monarch at Ispahan. That omrah accordingly waited upon Tamasp at the palace of Nilac, between the cities of Abher and Sultania*, and received an answer which testified the king's great desire to have an interview with Humaioon. The unfortunate fugitive accepted, with joy, of the invitation, and in the month of the first Jemmad, in the year nine hundred and fifty one, had a conference with Tamasp, the son of Ismael Suffi, emperor of Persia, and was royally entertained.

Tamasp, one day, in conversation, asked Humaioon, By what means his weak enemy became so powerful? Humaioon replied, "By the enmity of my brothers." The Persian then told him, "The political manner of treating brothers is not such as they received from you." And being, at that time, at table, as soon as he was done eating, the prince Byram, his brother, who attended him as a servant, came with the bason and ewer for him to wash†. When this was

* The city of Sultania is situated in the province of Irac Agemi. It was destroyed by Timur-bec, and has not since recovered it's ancient splendor. From it's ruins, it appears to have been very large and magnificent.

† To attend the sovereign in any menial office about his person, is the greatest honor that can be conferred upon a subject in the East.

done,

done. Tamasp turned to Humaioun, and resum-
 ing the discourse, said, "In this manner you
 ought to have treated your brothers." Hu-
 mainon, out of compliment to the king, seemed
 to assent to what he said; which so much of-
 fended the prince, the king's brother, that he
 never after could forgive him, while he resided at
 court. He took every opportunity to calumniate
 Humainon to the king, and was ever harping in
 his ears, how much against the interest of Persia
 it was, that a prince of the line of Timur should
 sit upon the throne of India. This maxim By-
 ram took care to inculcate upon all who had the
 king's confidence, and that circumstance greatly
 retarded the affairs of Humaioun, and, at length,
 wrought so visibly upon the king's disposition,
 that the unfortunate mogul began to fear death
 or imprisonment.

In the mean time, Sultana Begum, the king's
 sister, and Jehan, the high chancellor, in con-
 junction with Hakim, one of the king's privy
 counsellors, taking compassion upon Humaioun's
 distressed situation, joined their interest to work
 a reconciliation, and to reinstate him in the favor
 of Tamasp. The wit of the sultana had a great
 effect upon this occasion. She, one day, pro-
 duced a stanza of verses to the king, of her own
 composition, in the name of Humainon, extolling
 his devotion and happy turn of expression in the
 praise of Ali. This greatly pleased Tamasp,
 zealous for the sect of the Shiahis, who differ
 from the Sinnites, the sect whose tenets Humai-
 oon followed. The Shiahis hold Ali to be the
 only assistant of Mahommed in his apostolic func-
 tion, but the Sinnites believe in four, adding
 Osman, Omar, and Abubecker to Ali.

The king, in short, told his sister, That if Hu-
 maioun should become a Shiah, and enforce that
 doctrine in India, he would assist him to recover

*The king's
 sister and
 some om-
 rals favor
 the cause of
 Humaioun.*

*A. D. 1544.
 H. 951.*

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

2

D. 1545.
Hig. 952.

his empire. The sultana having acquainted Humaioon of these particulars, he was not so much wedded to a sect, as to lose a kingdom for an immaterial difference in a point of religion. He accordingly returned for an answer, "That he had always privately favored the opinions of the Shiah, which was partly the occasion of the animosity subsisting between him and his brothers."

The king
gives him
ten thousand
horse.

Tamasp, soon after, had a private conference with the noble Byram, examined him concerning the policy and state of Hindostan; and when he had satisfied himself upon that head, he promised that his son Murad, who was then but an infant, with his general Biddai, should accompany Humaioon, with ten thousand horse, to chastise his brothers, and drive them out of Cabul, Candahar, and Buduchshan. Every thing accordingly was, in a short time, got in readiness, and Humaioon took leave of the Persian king. He told him, that he had long proposed to take a tour through Tibrez and Ardebil, to visit the tomb of Shech Suffi, and then to proceed on his expedition. The king consented to this proposal, and issued orders to all governors through whose territories Humaioon was to pass, to supply him and his army with all necessaries, and treat him in a manner becoming his dignity.

Humaioon having visited and paid his devotions at the shrine of Suffi, marched with the young prince Murad, towards Candahar. He invested the fort of Garrimsere, took it, and read the chutba in his own name. Ashkari, who commanded at Candahar for the prince Camiran, hearing of these proceedings, sent the young prince Akbar, the son of Humaioon, to his uncle at Cabul, and prepared the fort of Candahar for a siege.

Humaioon

Humaioon invested it upon the seventh of Mo-
 hirrim, in the year nine hundred and fifty two. A. D. 1545,
 Hig 952.
 The siege had been carried on for six months, Humaioon
 invests
 Candahar
 when Humaioon sent his general Byrâm with
 a message to Camiran, then at Cabul. A tribe
 of the Pataus of Hazara, attacked Byrâm with
 great resolution, but they were defeated, and
 that omrah having obtained an audience of Cami-
 ran, according to his instructions made a demand
 of Candahar, and required a resignation of all
 those provinces which he had usurped from his
 brother Humaioon. But it was not to be expec-
 ted that Camiran would as yet listen to such a
 demand, and so the ambassador departed without
 effecting any thing.

The Persian soldiers, in the service of Hu-
 maioon, were now beginning to be discouraged The Persi-
 ans discon-
 tented.
 by the length of the siege, and discontented at
 being commanded by Moguls. This circum-
 stance might have obliged Humaioon to raise the
 siege, had he not been joined by Mahummud,
 Hussein, Shere Askun, Fuzil Beg, and other
 omrahs, who, disgusted with prince Camiran,
 had left his service. Some of the besieged de-
 serted also, and joined the king. These favora-
 ble circumstances revived the sinking spirits of
 his army, and equally depressed those of the be-
 sieged. Ashkari desired to capitulate; his request
 was granted upon honourable terms; he gave up
 the place, and, much ashamed of his former be- Can be ar
 taken.
 haviour, waited upon the king.

The fort of Candahar, as had been stipulated
 with the Persian emperor, was given to his in-
 fant son, Murad. The winter having now
 come on, the young prince Murad, and the
 Persian generals Biddai, Abul Fatte, and Arid-
 nullu, took up their quarters in the fort, with-
 out admitting the Mogul omrahs. This so much
 disgusted them, that some, having no quarters,
 went

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

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A. D. 1545. went off to Cabul, while Afhkari, with a view
 Hig. 952. of raising more disturbance, also fled. Afhkari,
 however, was pursued, and brought back pri-
 soner.

Humaioon, finding inaction more dangerous
 to his affairs than war, marched towards Cabul.
 On the way he heard of the death of the young
 prince Murad, at Candahar, upon which he re-
 turned, with a view to retain that fort as a
 place of security, till he should make further con-
 quests. The Persian general would not hearken
 to this proposal, which silenced the king, who
 could not, consistent with gratitude, or his own
 promise, compel him to deliver up the place.

Humaioon
 by a strata-
 gem, seizes
 upon Can-
 dahar.

But the urgency of his affairs soon obliged Hu-
 maioon to depart from these punctilios of honor.
 He therefore tacitly permitted Byram, Ali, and
 Mahummud, to take what means they could to
 render themselves masters of the place. These
 omrahs, accordingly, sent Mahummud and a
 few enterprizing men, disguised like camel-driv-
 ers, among a string of camels, which was then
 carrying provisions into the fort. They fell
 upon the guards, and dispatched them, while
 Byram, and Ali, rushed in with a chosen party
 of horse, and possessed themselves of the fort.
 The Persian general returned, by the king's per-
 mission, to Persia, and Byram was appointed to
 the government of Candahar.

The king
 marches to
 Cabul.

The king marched immediately towards Cabul.
 The prince Eadgâr, the brother of Baber, flying,
 at this time, from Hussein Arghu, to Cabul, in
 conjunction with Hindal, the king's brother,
 joined Humaioon. The king, encamping in the
 environs of Cabul, before the army of his bro-
 ther, was every day joined by some of Camiran's
 troops, who deserted his standards. Evan Kipla
 one of Camiran's principal omrahs, came over,
 with all his adherents. This so much weakened
 the

the prince's army, that he was necessitated to shut himself up in the city. Humaioon invested the place; but as it was only slightly fortified, Camiran evacuated it without fighting, and fled to Ghizni. The king sent the prince Hindal in pursuit of his brother, and, on the tenth of Ramzân, nine hundred and fifty two, entered Cabul, where he found his son Akbar, then four years old, with his mother Beguma, and, taking him in his arms, he repeated a verse to this purpose: "Joseph, by his envious brethren, was cast into a well; but he was exalted by Providence to the summit of glory."

A.D. 1545.
Hic. 952.
invests and
takes that
city.

The gates of Ghizni were shut against Camiran, and he was therefore obliged to take refuge at Dawir, among the Patans of Hazara. Being very ill received there, he went to Bicker, to his cousin Hussein, who gave him his daughter in marriage, and prepared to support him. Humaioon, having left his son Akbar under the tuition of Mahummd Ali, in Cabul, marched in person, in the year nine hundred and fifty three, to reduce Buduchshan. Eadgar having attempted to stir up a sedition in the royal army, was, upon conviction, sentenced to death, though he was uncle to the king.

Humaioon
marches
against
Buduch-
shan.

Humaioon having passed Hinderkush, and encamped at Neizikera, Soliman, with the forces of Buduchshan, came before him, but they were defeated in the first charge. The king from thence turned towards Talichan, where he fell sick. He, however, recovered, at the end of two months, and all the factions which had begun to prevail in his army, soon subsided. Moazim, the brother of Chuli, one of the imperial sultans, having had a quarrel at this time with Reshid, killed him, and fled to Cabul, where he was ordered to be imprisoned by the king.

Camiran

the king, while Kirrachi and Baboos deserted from the city to his army. Camiran, in the rage of despair, basely murdered the three sons of Babnos, and threw their mangled bodies over the wall. He, at the same time, bound the ynung prince Akbar and Kirrachi's son to a stake, and raised them up to view upon the battlements. But he was given to understand, that if he put them to death, every soul in the place should be massacred.

Camiran thought proper to desist from his intended cruelty, and that very night, making a breach in the wall, evacuated the place, and fled towards the skirts of the hills, leaving Humaioun a second time, in possession of Cabul. In his retreat, he was plundered, and even stript of his elnaths, by the inhabitants of Hazara; but when they discovered him, they conducted him to his garrison at Ghorebund. He, however, did not think himself secure there, and therefore he hastened to Balich, where Mahummad, who held that city, joined him, and assisted him in subduing Buduchshan. They drove Snliman and his son Ibrahim from that country.

Kirrachi, Babons, and some other omrahs, being, about this time, disgusted with the behavior of Ghazi, Humaioun's vizier, wanted of the king to disgrace him, and appoint Chasim to his office. Humaioun, satisfied of the integrity of his minister, would by no means consent, which irritated them so much, that they left the king's service, and went over to Ashkari, who commanded under Camiran in Buduchshan. The king pursued them in their flight, but not being able to come up with them, returned to Cabul, and called to him Ibrahim and Hindal from their respective governments. The former having fallen in by accident with Timur, one of those chiefs who had fled, cut him off, and brought his

A. D. 1545.
1172-952.

Camiran
evacuates
Cabul.

Several
omrahs de-
serted Hu-
maioun.

king. Hindal having also met his head to the him back prisoner.

A.D. 1545. Shere, brought Ig-left Kirrachi in Cushman, went
Hig. 952. Camiran havinkän. Humaioon detached Hin-

Camiran
defeats his
brother
Hindal.

in person to Taliath a considerable force, to drive dal and Koka, wience. That omrah having re-Kirrachi from the of their coming, acquainted ceived intelligenwith great expedition, returned Camiran, who, fell in with Hindal, in crossing to Cushman, and, when his troops were divided. the river Talikändal, cut off a great part of his He defeated Him seized upon all his baggage.

Flies before
Humaioon.

and sub-
mits,

detachment, and a few days, advanced with the Humaioon, in, which obliged Camiran to fly army from Cabul, and leave all his plunder, as towards Talickânjaggage. He was, the day af- well as his own lvested in the fort, and, as he ter his retreat, in assistance of the Usbecks, to despaired of the lied, he requested leave of his whom he had appn, to make a pilgrimage to brother Humaioon, with a good-natured weak-Mecca. Humaioand both the perfidious Cami- nefs, consented, came out of the place, and pro- ran and Ashkari pharsangs on their way. When ceeded about ten Humaioon did not send troops they found that r attempt to detain them, as to seize them, ndey were ashamed of their own they imagined, thought it more eligible to trust behaviour, and tthan turn mendicant pilgrims. to his clemency, on they returned.

He is
treated
with ref-
pect by
Humaioon.

With this resoluting heard of their return, sent The king havitulate, and treat them with persons to congramaioon, after these tranctions, great respect. Hul. Pier Mahummud, the Uf- returned to Cabue some incursions into Humai- beck, having madin the year nine hundred and oon's territories, ; determined to take, if pos- fifty six, the kingfor the affront. He, for that sible, fatisfaction ; purpose,

purpose, marched towards Balich. Camiran and Ashkari accompanied him, and begun again to hatch treason. The king perceived their treachery, but took no effectual steps to prevent its effect. A D 1545.
11ig-952.
Illustration
able de-
signs.

Humaioon arriving in the environs of Balick, an Usbeck general came before him with only three thousand Usbeck horse, and stopt his progress. The Usbeck chief was, on the second day, reinforced by Pier Mahumud, and the princes of Hassar, and was thus enabled to march out with thirty thousand horse to give battle. Soliman, Hindal, the king's cousin and brother, defeated the advanced parties, and pressed so hard upon Pier Mahumud that he thought proper to retreat within the city. Humaioon
defeats the
Usbecks;

The king was desirous of pursuing the enemy. This resolution, had it been followed, would certainly have had a good effect, as they were preparing to evacuate the place. But unfortunately the king suffered his own better judgment to be over-ruled by his omrahs, who suggested their apprehensions from Camiran, and advised the king to incamp somewhere near the city, which would fall into his hands in the course of things. This pernicious advice was accordingly followed. No ground proper for incamping being near, the king was obliged to retreat to a small distance. The troops being ordered to move back, apprehended that danger was near; when the enemy actually construed the retreat of Humaioon into a real flight. By this double mistake the Moguls were intimidated, and the Usbecks received fresh spirits. They immediately fell upon Soliman and Hussein, who brought up the rear, forced them upon the main body, where the king commanded in person. He gallantly opposed them hand to hand, and with his spear dismounted the officer who led on the attack. His brother

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

A.D. 1545. brother Hindal, Tirdi Beg, and Tolic Chan supported Humaioon with great bravery; but they soon found themselves deserted by all their troops, and were obliged to save themselves by flight.

After this unfortunate action, the imperial army retreated towards Cabul. The king, on his way, was deserted by the perfidious Camiran and Afhkari, who had not joined in the action. Humaioon justly resenting their behaviour, wrote to Ali, one of Camiran's omrahs, and made him great promises if he would seize his master, and send him prisoner to court; dispatching, at the same time, Soliman and Hindal in pursuit of him. Camiran, laying aside all his ensigns of state, attempted, by the way of Zohac and Bamia, to pass to the Indus. The king, informed of his motions, sent a party to intercept him; but Kirrachi and Hussain, who had remained with Humaioon, wrote privately to Camiran, and acquainted him with all that passed. These perfidious chiefs, being now ashamed of no villainy, told Camiran, that, as the greatest part of the king's troops were detached from his person, if he would return, they would join him in the action. Camiran did not let this favorable opportunity slip through his hands. He returned, by the way of Kipoha, whither, the king, having intelligence of him, advanced to meet him. The battle no sooner begun, than Kirrachi, and his perfidious adherents, went over to Camiran, and turned upon Humaioon, who, with a few faithful friends, fought with great resolution. Pierced by the king's side, and he himself wounded in the head, as well as his horse, he was forced to abandon the field, and fly to Bamia, and from thence to Budachshan, leaving Camiran to possess himself, a third time, of Cabul.

Retreat to
Cabul.

Humaioon

Humaioon was now in great distress, for money to pay the few troops, who had continued faithful to his fortunes. He was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandize of some great caravans, with which he mounted and paid his troops. He privately sent Bidda, Toglich, Mudgnow, and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Cabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. But of all these, Toglich alone remained true to his interest, which they now found was greatly declined. Soliman, Ibrahim, and prince Hindal, returning with their detachments to join the king, he found himself again in a condition to make an attempt to recover his kingdom; and he accordingly marched towards Cabul. Camiran, upon the approach of Humaioon, came out, and drew up on the banks of the Pungur. Camiran was defeated with great slaughter, and in his flight he was obliged to shave his head and beard, to escape, in the disguise of a mendicant, to the mountains of Lingan. Ashkari was taken prisoner, and the perfidious Kirrachi fell in the engagement.

A. D. 1545.
Hiz. 952.
Huma oon
in great dis-
tress.

Humaioon now returned in triumph to Cabul; where he enjoyed a whole year in peace and festivity. Intelligence was brought to him, that the restless Camiran was again at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while some omrahs fled from the royal presence to Ghizni. The king marched against his brother, who fled towards the Indus; so that Humaioon, without effecting any thing, returned to Cabul. Camiran no sooner heard of his brother's retreat, than he returned again among the Afghians to raise up more disturbances. Humaioon was under the necessity of taking the field a second time. He wrote to Byram, who still held the government of Candahar, to march against the omrahs, who fled to Ghizni; and had

Returns to
Cabul.

A.D. 1551. had invited Camiran to join him at that place.
 Hig. 958. Camiran, by the way of Peshawir, Bungish, and Curvez, was then on his march towards Ghizni: But before his arrival, Byram had come to Ghizni, and carried the revolted omrahs prisoners to Cabul. Camiran, disappointed of his ally, returned to Peshawir, and the king directed his march to Cabul.

Transacti-
 ons at Ca-
 bul.

Before the arrival of Humaioon at his capital, Mahommed, one of the imprisoned omrahs found means to escape, a second time, to Ghizni, from whence he was persuaded to return; no doubt, upon the most sacred assurances of pardon. Ashkari having preferred a petition to the king, soliciting his releasement from prison, in order to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, was now sent to Soliman, governor of Buduchshan, to proceed to Balich. Ashkari died in the year nine hundred and sixty one, in his way crossing the Arabian desarts.

Prince Hin-
 dal killed
 and Cami-
 ran defeat-
 ed.

Camiran was, in the mean time, levying troops among the Afghans, and carrying on a private correspondence with Mahommed at Ghizni. The treason was discovered, and the old traitor condemned to death. Humaioon had, by this time, marched against Camiran; but he was surprized in his camp, near Chiber, the twenty-first of Zicada, nine hundred and fifty eight, in the night; upon which occasion prince Hindal lost his life. Camira, however, gained no advantage but the death of his brother, being overthrown by Humaioon, and obliged to take shelter again among the Patans. The king, after this victory, returned to Cabul, and in gratitude to the memory of Hindal, who had so well expiated his former disobedience, by his services and blood, he gave the daughter of that prince, Rixia-Sultana, to his son Akbar in marriage. He conferred; at the same time, upon the royal pair, all the

the wealth of Hindal; and appointed Akbar to the command of his uncle's troops, and to his government of Ghizni. A. O. 1552,
Hig. 959

The Afghans, a few months after these transactions, rose in favor of Camiran. The king marched into their country, which he laid waste with fire and sword finding, at last, that they got nothing but mischief to themselves by adhering to Camiran, they withheld their aid, and expelled him from their country. The Af-
ghans ex-
pel Cami-
ran.

The desolate Camiran fled to Hindostan, and was reduced to solicit the protection of the emperor Selim, whom he beheld, by his own baseness, ruling his father's empire. But it was not to be expected that Selim would treat Camiran favorably. The unfortunate fugitive fled from the court of Delhi, and, like a poor vagabond, sought protection from the Indian prince of Nagercot. Being from thence driven by Selim, he fled among the Gickers. He flies to
Selim.

Ilyder, one of the posterity of Timur, reigned then in Cashmire. He requested the assistance of Humaioon, to quell some disturbances in his kingdom. The king accordingly marched towards India, and crossed the Indus. Adam, the prince of the Gickers, fearing the king's resentment, for giving protection to Camiran, imprisoned that unhappy man, and acquainted the king, that he was ready to deliver him over to any body he should be pleased to send. The king dispatched Monim to Adam, and Camiran was accordingly given up to him, and brought to the royal presence. Delivered
up to the
king.

The Mogul chiefs, to a man, solicited that he should be put to death, that he might distress them no more; but the king would, by no means, consent to embroe his hands in the blood of his brother, however deserving he was of death.

Humaioon,

A. D. 1552. Humaioun, on account of his lenity, was threat-
 Hig. 959. ened with a general sedition in his army, and
 every body openly complained of that merciful
 disposition in the king, by which his subjects
 were so often involved in misfortunes. He was,
 His eyes are put out. at last, though much against his will, necessitated
 to permit them to render Camiran blind, by
 means of antimony. Some days after this sen-
 tence was executed upon the unfortunate prince,
 the king went to see him. Camiran imme-
 diately rose, and walked some steps forward to
 meet him, saying: "The glory of the king will
 "not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate."
 Humaioun immediately bursting into tears, wept
 very bitterly: Camiran endeavoured to comfort
 him, by confessing the justice of his own punish-
 ment, and, by way of expiating his crimes, re-
 quested leave to proceed on a pilgrimage to Mec-
 ca. His request was granted, and he went by the
 way of Sind. Having resided three years in
 Mecca, he died in that place, in the year nine
 hundred and sixty four. He left one son, Carem,
 who was some time after his father's death assas-
 sinated, by order of Akbar, in the fort of
 Gualier; Camiran had also three daughters.

And dies
there.

Humaioun
marches to-
wards Cash-
mire.

Humaioun being now delivered from the rest-
 less spirit of Camiran, began to extend his domi-
 nions. He first turned his arms towards Cash-
 mire. Selim, the Patan emperor of India, hav-
 ing, at that time, advanced to the Indus, his
 omrahs represented to Humaioun, that, if he
 should enter Cashmire, as there was but one
 pass through which he could return; that Selim
 might block up his rear, and reduce him to great
 distress. The king, however, would not listen
 to their representations; but marched towards
 Cashmire. Having advanced about half way,
 a mutiny arose in the army, and the greatest part
 of the omrahs refused to proceed; while others
 actually

actually returned to Cabul. This obliged Hu-
maioon to take a circuit, by the way of Sind, A.D. 1554.
1555. ordering a fort, called Bickeram, to be built in
his rout. In Bickeram he left a garrison under Returns
one Secunder.

When the king arrived in Cabul, he sent his
son Akbar to his government of Ghizni, under Akbar sent
to Ghizni
the charge of Jellil. In the year nine hundred
and sixty-one, the king had another son born to
him at Cabul, whom he named Mibommed
Ilakini.

In the course of this year, Humaioon became
jealous of Byram, by the calumny of some of his
courtiers, who pretended, that that great man
was carrying on intrigues with the Persian go-
vernment. The king, marched towards Canda-
har, by the way of Ghizni. Byram, who was
quite innocent of the charge, when he heard of
the king's approach, came out, with five or six
friends only, to congratulate him upon his ar-
rival, and to lay his offerings at his feet. The
king soon plainly perceived that he had been abu-
sed, and satisfying Byram with reasons for his
coming, spent two months there in festivity.
The calumniators of Byram were disgraced, and
he himself loaded with favors. Byram was, how-
ever, afraid, that the repeated calumnies of his
enemies might find way at last into the king's
mind; he therefore earnestly requested, that the
government should be bestowed on some other
chief, and that he might be permitted to attend
his sovereign. But the king would by no means
consent to a thing, which might have the ap-
pearance of a slur upon the conduct of his faithful
servant. When they parted, Byram obtained the
district of Dawir, for two of his friends, who re-
mained with him.

Much about this time an address was received The inha-
bitants of
Delhi and
Agra wrote
him to
In ha
from the inhabitants of Delhi and Agra, acquainting
Vol. II. Q Humaioon,

A. D. 1554. Humaioon, that Selim, the Asian emperor of
 Hig. 962. India, was dead, and that all the tribes of the
 Patans were engaged in a civil war: That it was,
 therefore, a proper opportunity for the king to
 return and take possession of his empire. Hu-
 maioon was in no condition to raise a sufficient
 army for that enterprize, and he became ex-
 tremely melancholy.

The king being one day upon a hunting party,
 told some of his omrahs, that he was very un-
 easy in his mind, about the execution of his de-
 signs upon Hindostan. Some of them, who were
 desirous to make the attempt, consulted among
 themselves, and hit upon a successful stratagem
 to bring the king to an immediate resolution.
 They therefore told him, that there was an old
 method of divination, by sending a person be-
 fore, and asking the names of the three first per-
 sons he met, from which a conclusion, good or
 bad, might be formed, according to their mean-
 ing. The king, being naturally superstitious,
 ordered this to be done. He sent three horse-
 men in front, who were to come back and ac-
 quaint him of the answers they received. The
 first horseman who returned told the king, that
 he had met with a traveller whose name was
 Dowlat *. The next brought advice, that he
 met a man who called himself Murâd †. And
 the third, that he met with a villager, whose
 name was Sâdit §.

Humaioon
 resolves to
 invade in-
 dostan.

The king discovered great joy upon this occa-
 sion, and though he could only collect fifteen
 thousand horse, determined to undertake an ex-
 pedition into India. He left to Monim the go-
 vernment of Cabul, and the tuition of his young-
 son Hakim, and in the month of Siffer, nine

* Fortune or prosperity. † Desire or inclination.

‡ Happiness.

hundred and sixty-two, began his march from his capital. The king was joined at Peshawir by Byram, with all his veterans from Candahar. When he had crossed the western branch of the Indus, he appointed Byram his captain general, and ordered him to lead the van with Chizer, Tirdi Beg, Secunder, and Shubiani. A. D. 1554.
1132-562.

Upon the approach of the king, Tatar, the Patan governor of the province of the five branches of the Indus, who commanded the new fort of Rhotas, evacuated the place and fled to Delhi. Humaioon pursued Tatar to Lahore, which place was also evacuated by the Patans, and the king peaceably entered the city. From Lahore he dispatched Byram to Sirhind, and that able general possessed himself of all the country as far as that place. The king having received intelligence, that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shubas and Nisir, were assembled at Dibalpoor, he ordered Abul Mali, whom he used to honor with the name of son, with a strong detachment against them. Abul Mali having overthrown them, returned with the plunder of their camp to Lahore. Rhotas evacuated.
He enters Lahore.
Defeats some Afghans at Dibalpoor,

The Patan emperor Secunder had, in the mean time, ordered Tatar and Ilyhut, with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse from Delhi, against Humaioon; but Byram, notwithstanding their great superiority in number, was determined to risque a battle, crossed the Suttuluz, advanced boldly to meet them, and pitched his camp upon the banks of the river Bidgwarra. It being winter, the Patans kindled great fires of wood in their camp, which Byram observing, he crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse, and advancing near their camp without being discovered, began to gall those who crouded round the fires with arrows, which raised an uproar in the camp. But the Patans, instead of

A.D. 1554. extinguishing their fires, which prevented them
 Hig. 962. from seeing the enemy, while the enemy had a
 which is fair view of them, by means of the light, threw
 overthrown on more wood. In the mean time, the whole
 by Byram. of Byram's army having crossed the river, fell
 upon the Patans from all sides, routed them, and
 took all their elephants, baggage, and a num-
 ber of horses. Byram sent the elephants to the
 king, at Lahore, and encamped at Matchi-
 warrah. He dispersed detachments on all sides,
 and possessed himself of all the country, almost
 to the walls of Delhi. The king was greatly re-
 joiced when he heard of this victory, and confer-
 red upon Byram the titles of Lord of Lords, the
 grateful friend, and the grief-expelling com-
 panion.

Secunder marches a-
 gainst the
 Moguls. When the news arrived of the overthrow of
 Tatar, the emperor, Secunder exacted an oath of
 fidelity from his omrahs, and marched with eigh-
 ty thousand horse, a great train of artillery, and
 a number of elephants, towards the Indus. By-
 ram thought proper to shut himself up in Sirhind,
 and to provide against a siege, by laying in pro-
 visions, and throwing up new works. Secunder
 encamped before Sirhind, and Byram sent conti-
 nual letters to Lahore, to hasten the king to his
 relief. Humaioon accordingly marched, joined
 Byram, made repeated sallies from the city, and
 greatly distressed the enemy in their camp.

Prince Ak-
 bar marsh-
 als the
 Mogul
 army. Upon the last day of Rigib, when the young
 prince Akbar was going the rounds of the camp,
 the Patans drew up their forces, and offered bat-
 tle. This had the intended effect on the impetu-
 ous young prince, who could not bear to be in-
 sulted. He accordingly having obtained his fa-
 ther's permission, drew out the army. Humai-
 oon gave the command of the right to Byram,
 and the left to Secunder, which was composed of
 the troops of Abdulla the Usbeck, Abul Mali,
 Alla,

Alla, and Tirdi Beg, who were to begin the action. He took post in person in the center, and advanced slowly towards the enemy, who waited the attack. The left wing having charged, according to the orders which they had received, the enemy were broke, and they never after recovered from the confusion into which they were thrown. The action, however, continued warm for some time; Humaioun and his gallant general Byram displayed great conduct, while the young prince Akbar distinguished himself with acts of personal valour. The Moguls were so animated by the behaviour of that young hero, that they seemed even to forget that they were mortal men. The enemy at last, were driven off the field, with very great slaughter, and the emperor Secunder fled, with precipitation, to the mountains of Sewalic.

A. D. 1554.
1163 962.

The battle
begins.

The Patans
overthrown

This victory decided the fate of the empire, which fell for ever from the Patans. Secunder, the Ulbeck, and some other omrahs were detached to take possession of Delhi and Agra, which they effected without opposition. Humaioun conferred the government of the province of Punjab upon Abul Mali, and ordered him to pursue the fugitive emperor. In the month of Ramzan the king entered Delhi, in triumph, and became, a second time, Emperor of Hindostan. Byram, to whose valor and conduct the king, in a great measure, owed his restoration, was now rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned to him. Tirdi Beg was appointed to the government of Delhi; the superintendency of Agra was given to Secunder, and Alli Kulli was made viceroy of Merat and Simbol; for which department he set out with a considerable force.

The empire
transferred
from the
Patans to
the Moguls.

As Abul Mali, on account of disputes with the omrahs in his army, had permitted Secunder

Akbar sent
against Se-
cunder.

to

A. D. 1555. to become daily more formidable, the king dispatched his son Akbar, under the direction of
 Hig. 963. Byram, against him. Much about this time, a man of low birth, who became famous, under the name of Kumber, raised a rebellion in Simbol, and, collecting a great force, plundered the provinces between the rivers. He was, however, on the fifth of the first Ribbi, nine hundred and sixty three, defeated and slain by Alli Kulli, and the insurrection totally quashed.

The king's
 death.

In the evening of the seventh of the first Ribbi, Humaioon walked out upon the terrace of the library, and sat down there for some time to enjoy the fresh air. When the emperor began to descend the steps of the stair from the terrace, the crier, according to custom, proclaimed the time of prayers. The king, conformable to the practice of religion, stood still upon this occasion, and repeated the Culma *, then sat down upon the second step of the stair till the proclamation was ended. When he was going to rise he supported himself upon a staff, which unfortunately slipped upon the marble, and the king fell headlong from the top to the bottom of the stair. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed; he soon recovered his speech, and the physicians administered all their art: But in vain, for upon the eleventh, about sunset, his soul took her flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, upon the banks of the river; and a noble tomb was erected over him, some years after, by his son Akbar. Humaioon died at the age of fifty one, after a reign of twenty five years, both in Cabul and India.

His character,

The mildness and benevolence of Humaioon were excessive: If there can be any excess in vir-

* The Creed.

tues so noble as these. His affection to his brothers proved the source of all his misfortunes; but they rewarded him with ingratitude and contempt. He was learned, a lover of literature, and the generous patron of the men of genius, who flourished in his time. In battle he was valiant and enterprising: But the clemency of his disposition hindered him from using his victories in a manner which suited the vices of the times. Had he been less mild and religious, he would have been a more successful prince: Had he been a worse man, he would have been a greater monarch.

Shah Tamasp was in the thirty second year of his reign over Persia, when Humaioun died in Hindostan. The Uzbeks had possessed themselves of Great Bucharia, and the most part of Maver-ul-nere or Transoxiana; and the frontier provinces, beyond the Indus, were subject to the family of Timur, emperors of Hindostan.

State of
Asia at the
death of
Humaioun.

A K B A R.

A. D. 1555.
Hig. 963.

THE celebrated Abul Fazil, the most elegant writer of India, has given to the world the history of the renowned Akbar *, in three volumes, called Akbar namma. From that historian, we shall chiefly extract the most material transactions of this reign.

Akbar
mounts the
throne at
Callanore.

When Humaioon became insensible after his fall, the Mogul chiefs dispatched one Chuli express to Punjab, to acquaint Akbar of the accident which had befallen his father. Not many days after, the news of his father's death came to the prince at Callanore. The omrahs, who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbar to the throne, on the second of the second Ribbi, in the year 963, being then thirteen years and nine months old.

Byram's
wife admini-
stration.

Byram, distinguished by the noble title of Chan Chanân †, on the accession of Akbar, became absolute regent, and had the whole civil and military power of the empire in his hands. The first orders issued from the throne, after dispatching the letters of proclamation, were, to prohibit the exaction of the usual present of money, from the farmers ; to let all goods pass toll-free, and to prevent the injurious practice of

* His titles at length were Shaw Jumja, Abul Muzziffer, Jellâl ul dien, Mahommed Akbar, Padisha Ghazi.

† Which may be translated, the most Noble of Nobles.

pressing labourers to the war. Not many days after the accession of Akbar, Abul Mali, who was in great favour with Humaioon, discovering some treasonable intentions, was seized and imprisoned in Lahnre. He, however, found means, some time after, to escape; and Pulwan Gul, the chief magistrate to whose charge he was committed, killed himself; for fear of the strict severity of the police under Byram.

The king led his army towards the hills, with a view to exterminate the party of the Patan emperor Secunder: he defeated Secunder, and obliged him to fly farther among the mountains; whither the imperial army could not pursue him. Akbar, in the mean time, subdued the country of Nagraent; received the Indian prince of that province into favor: and the rains coming on, took up his quarters at Jallender. In the mean time, Solimân, one of the posterity of 'Ismur, and frequently mentioned in the reign of Humaioon, who had been left governor of Buduchshan, threw off his allegiance, set up for himself, and marched against Cabul. That city was defended by Monim, the tutor of the young prince Hakim, the king's brother. Intelligence of this rebellion being brought to Akbar, he immediately detached Kulli Burlafs, Azim, Chizer, and other Omrahs, to succour Monim. Some of those chiefs entered Cabul, while others encamped without, to harass the besiegers; which they continued to do for the space of four months. The garrison, in the mean time, became to be distressed for provisions; which obliged Monim to consent, that the chutba, for the kingdom of Cabul, should be read in the name of Solimân. The rebel, after this submission, raised the siege, and returned to Buduchshan.

During these transactions at Cabul, Himu, the vizier of Mahommed, the Patan emperor of the Eastern

A. D. 1555.
Hig. 963.

Akbar de-
feats Se-
cunder.

A. D. 1555. Eastern provinces, advanced towards Agra, with
 Hig. 963. thirty thousand horse and two thousand elephants. He obliged Secunder, the Mogul governor of that city, to retreat to Delhi. Sadi, Himu takes Agra, another general under Mahummud, in the mean time, raised an army, and advanced to the banks of the Rehib; where the Mogul governor Zeman, with three thousand horse, crossing the river, attacked him, but was defeated; and carried only two hundred of his army, alive, from the field; those who escaped the sword, being drowned in the river.

advances to Delhi, Himu having taken Agra, marched towards Delhi, where Tirdi commanded for Akbar. Tirdi sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs around, soliciting succours, and was joined by Abdulla, Inderani, Kullabi, and others; and then he thought himself in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Zeman; who, with several other omrahs, and a considerable reinforcement, was marching to his assistance. Himu, who was a very valiant man, selected three thousand chosen horse, and some of his best elephants, which he posted about his own person in the center; and with which he charged Tirdi so violently, that he drove him quite off the field. Himu then fell, with great impetuosity, upon the right wing, which he routed so that the flight became general. This victory was so compleat, that in consequence of it, the city immediately surrendered, and Tirdi, flying to Sirhind, left all the country open to the enemy. Zeman, having received intelligence of this disaster, at Merat, hastened also to Sirhind.

The king in great perplexity. The king, during these transactions, was at Jallender; and finding all his dominions, except the provinces towards the heads of the Indus, wrested from him, was greatly affected with the news

news of Ilimu's success. He called to him Byram, conferred upon him the honorable title of the noble Baba†. He told that able man, that he reposed his whole trust in his prudence and good conduct, in this perilous situation of affairs, and desired that he might take whatever measures he thought most conducive to retrieve his affairs. He, at the same time, assured Byram, in the most solemn manner, that he would give no attention to any malicious insinuations, which might be suggested to the royal ear by his enemies. The young prince having thus expressed the genuine sentiments of his soul to Byram, he made him swear, by the soul of his father Humatoon, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to the great trust, which was now reposed in him. A council of war was immediately called, in which Byram presided. The majority of the omrahs were of opinion, that as the enemy consisted of above a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army scarce amounted to twenty thousand, it would be most prudent to retreat to Cabul. Byram strenuously opposed this measure, and was almost singular in his opinion, which was to give battle instantly to the enemy. The young king joined Byram's sentiments with so much warmth and gallant anxiety, that the chiefs cried out, in rapture, that their lives and fortunes were at his service.

Immediately hostilities being resolved upon, Chizer Chan, who was married to the king's aunt, the sultana Gulbâdin, was appointed governor of Lahore, to act against Secunder; while the king himself prepared, in person, to chastise Ilimu. He marched to Sirhind, and was there joined by his defeated omrahs, who had assembled at that place. The king being out, one

The king
marches
against
Ilimu.

† Baba signifies father.

A. D. 1556.
Hig. 964. day, at the diversion of lawking, Byram called Tirdi to his tent, and ordered him to be beheaded for abandoning Delhi, where he might have defended himself, and for other unmilitary crimes, with which he was justly charged. When Akbar returned, Byram waited upon him, and informed him of what he had done; he excused himself for not acquainting the king of his intentions, by insinuating, that he was certain his royal clemency was so great, that notwithstanding Tirdi's crimes, he would have forgiven him; which, at such a time, would be attended with very dangerous consequences, as the hopes of the Moguls rested upon every individual's strict performance of duty. He affirmed, that negligence was, in such a critical situation, as great a crime as treason, and ought to meet with an equal punishment. But that on the other hand, desert should meet with reward: for a dangerous crisis, is the season of strict justice, in both respects. Without his reward, the soldier becomes languid and discontented; when he fears no punishment, he is negligent and insolent.

The king saw into the propriety of the measure, but he shuddered at the inhumanity of the punishment. He, however, thanked Byram for the service which he had done him; and, indeed, though the policy of that minister was severe, it had the intended effect among the omrahs. They saw that they had nothing to hope, and every thing to fear, from faction and bad behaviour; and therefore, they became very obedient to the orders of Byram.

The king soon after marched from Sirhind towards Delhi, detaching Secunder, Abdulla, Inderani, Lal Sultan, Mudjenu, and others, under the command of the gallant Zeman, who had been created captain general, some miles in his front. Himu, who had assumed the title of
Raja,

Marches
towards
Delhi.

Raja, in Delli, having attached Sadi, and other Afghān omrahs to his interest, marched out of that city with all his forces; which, by the lowest computation, exceeded a hundred thousand horse, besides elephants and infantry, with a great train of artillery. He detached, in front, a great body of Afghāns, with some artillery, which falling in with the Mogol captain general, were defeated with the loss of all their guns, which proved a signal advantage to the king. Hīmu having arrived at Pannipot, heard that the king was advanced very near him. He divided his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers.

In the morning of the second of Mohirrim, 964, the captain general, who had been, by that time, joined by the whole army except a few, who remained to guard the king, drew up in order of battle, and waited the attack. Hīmu began the action with his elephants, in hopes of frightening the Mogol cavalry, who were not accustomed to those enormous animals. He, however, found that he was deceived. The Mogol chiefs, either from a fear of the fate of Tirdi, or from a nobler cause, their own valor, attacked Hīmu with such resolution, after he had penetrated the center of their army, where Zaiman commanded, that the elephants, galled with lances, arrows and javelins, became quite outrageous, and submitting no longer to command, fell back and disordered the Patan ranks. Hīmu, who rode a prodigious elephant, still continued the action with great vigor, at the head of four thousand horse, in the very heart of the Moguls; being at last pierced through the eye, with an arrow, the greatest part of his troops, fearing that his wound was mortal, forsook him. But that valiant man drew the eye out of the socket, with the arrow;

A.D. 1556. arrow; and, in that terrible condition, continued the fight with unequalled resolution and courage. He encouraged the few who remained by his side, and advanced through a bloody path which his weapons made; till a chief called Kulli stretched his spear to kill the driver of Himu's elephant: that timorous wretch, to save his own life, pointed to Himu, and addressing him, by name, said, he would carry him whithersoever he pleased. Kulli immediately surrounded him with a body of horse, and carried him prisoner to Akbar, whom Byram, as upon him rested the hopes of all, detained in the rear.

Himu taken and slain.

When the unfortunate Himu was brought into the presence, almost expiring with his wounds, Byram told the king, that it would be a meritorious action in him, to kill that brave infidel with his own hand. Akbar, in compliance to the advice of his tutor, drew his sword, but only gently touched the head of the captive, bursting into tears of compassion. Byram, looking sternly upon the king, insinuated, that the ill-timed clemency of his family, was the source of all their misfortunes, and with one stroke of the sabre, severed Himu's head from his body.

Akbar arrives at Delhi.

Akbar took, in this action, fifteen hundred elephants, and all the artillery of the enemy. He immediately marched from the field, and took possession of Delhi. From that city, he dispatched Pier Mahummud, manager of the private affairs of Byram, towards Mewat, to seize the treasure of Himu, which was deposited in that place. This service was accomplished, with some loss on the side of the Moguls; and the empire, in a great measure, returned to its former tranquillity.

The Persians besiege and take Kandahar.

Hussein, the grandson of the celebrated Ismael Suffi advanced, this year, by the orders of his uncle

uncle Taimasp, emperor of Persia, and laid siege A D 1556. 1112 954. to Kandahar. After a sharp engagement before the walls, with Mahummud of Kandahar, who commanded in the place, as deputy of the minister Byram, the city fell into the hands of the Persians. Chizer, the Mogul general in the north-west provinces, was, at the same time, defeated by Secunder, the fugitive Patan emperor, and obliged to fly to Lahore.

Akbar, having received intelligence of this double disaster, put his army in motion, and The king marches towards Punjab marched towards the ludus. Secunder, who had advanced as far as Callanore, retreated upon the king's approach, to the fort of Mancot, which had been built by Selim, the late emperor. Akbar besieged Secunder, in that fortress, for the space of six months: he then began to treat about surrendering the place, upon conditions; and Chan Azim being sent into the fort to settle the terms of capitulation, Secunder proposed to that chief, to give his son, as a hostage to the king, for his future obedience, if he himself should be permitted to retire to Bengal. This being granted, on the part of Akbar, Rhiman, the son of Secunder, was, in the month of Ramzan, 964, brought to the king, with presents, consisting chiefly of elephants. Secunder was permitted to retire to Bengal, and Mancot was delivered up to Akbar. The king left a trusty governor in the place, and proceeded to Lahore.

Byram, the regent, being privately disgusted Byram disgusted. at favors which the king had conferred upon some persons, whom he suspected to be enemies to himself, for some days, refused to come to the royal presence. The king, in the mean time, happened to amuse himself with an elephant fight, and the outrageous animals chanced to run over the tents of Byram. The minister immediately suspected, that this was done designedly by the king,

A. D. 1556. king, and he sent to acquaint him : “ That he
 Hig. 964. was sorry to see that he had disobliged the king :
 but that, if he deserved Akbar’s dislike, he would
 be glad to know the crime he had committed,
 that he might be the better able to make his ex-
 cuse, and then, retire for ever from the presence.”
 The king was touched with an imputation, which
 his soul abhorred ; but he condescended to ac-
 quaint Byram, that the circumstance, from
 which his ungenerous suspicions arose, was a
 mere accident. This, however, did not satisfy
 the minister, who still continued to suspect that
 the king’s mind was estranged from him.

His vindic- The king, soon after this transaction, marched
 tive disposi- from Lahore to Delhi. Chaja Callan, who was
 tion. proud of the dignity of the Mogul family, of
 which he was descended, and of the signal ser-
 vices which he had rendered to the king, set
 himself up to oppose Byram in his administration.
 That vindictive minister, to get rid of his anta-
 gonist, condemned him to death upon very
 slight pretences, which raised great commotions
 among the omrahs. The king also expressed his
 dislike of this violent proceeding ; for the whole
 had been done without his orders,

Breach be- Upon this occasion, high words arose between
 tween him the king and his minister ; and the former, in a
 and the few days, set out for Agra. Though the king
 king. did not discover to any man what had passed be-
 tween him and Byram, the cause of his journey
 was no secret at court. The people sided with
 their young king, in the quarrel ; and the power
 of the minister began to decline visibly every day.
 The enraged Byram, in the mean time, endea-
 vored to recover his authority by rigor and se-
 verity.

He punishes Much about this time, Pier Mahummud, who
 the info- had been formerly a retainer of Byram, was, on
 lence of account of his great abilities, preferred to the
 Pier Ma- high
 hummud.

high office of tutor to the king. He soon engrossed a considerable share of the king's favor; A. D. 1556. 11½ 584. and the pride of advancement began to swell in his heart. He used often to make the nobles, who attended his levee, to wait whole hours, and, at last, to send them a message that he could not see them: which insolent behaviour gave great offence to many. Byram himself was little better treated, one day, by Mahummud; and he took it so much amiss, that, by virtue of his own authority, he sent the tutor prisoner to Biana, from thence he banished him to Guzerat, and there shipped him off for Mecca, to prosecute his devotion.

The king was highly offended at this proceeding, as it seemed to debar him from even the liberty of disposing of his own private favors. The king offended The artsul minister, perceiving Akbar's rage, projected an expedition against Gualier, to divert his attention to another object. That fortress was then in the possession of Bibil, one of the slaves of the emperor Selim, the son of Shere, who held it for Mahummud, the late emperor of Delhi, who still kept up the imperial title in Bengal. Bibil, hearing of Akbar's design against him, wrote to Ram Shaw, a descendant of the great Raja Man Singh, that as his ancestors had been masters of Gualier, and as he did not think himself capable to hold out the place against the king, he would put it into the possession of the Raja for a reasonable sum.

Ram Shaw, glad of the offer, immediately moved towards the fort: but Kika, who possessed an estate from the king, in the neighbourhood of Gualier, raised all his vassals, and attacking the Indian prince, defeated and drove him into the dominions of Rana. Kika, immediately after this victory, returned and invested the fortress. Bibil, seeing himself thus besieged, made

Gualier delivered up

A. D. 1556. overtures of capitulation. The king being in-
 H. g. 964. formed of this circumstance, ordered one of his
 officers; with a detachment, to give Bibil the
 terms he required, and to seize upon the fort-
 refs. The traitor accordingly, being gratified with
 some money and a promise of future favor, de-
 livered up the important castle of Gualier.

In the course of the same year, the Mogul cap-
 tain general, the noble Zemân, to wipe off some
 aspersions under which he lay, exerted himself in
 a particular manner in the king's service; for he
 subdued all the provinces near Jionpoor and Be-
 naris, which till then were in the hands of the
 adherents of the Patan dynasty.

Transacti-
 ons at
 court.

Mahommed Ghori, the brother of the famous
 Phul, who having been firmly attached to the
 Mogul interest, during the late supremacy of
 the Patans, had fled to Guzerat, this year re-
 turned to court with his family, and was very fa-
 vorably received by the king, who ordered By-
 ram to provide for him in a manner suitable to
 his dignity. Ghori, trusting too much to the
 king's authority, neglected to pay that court to
 the minister which that haughty though able
 man expected: Byram therefore took every pos-
 sible means to avoid to serve Ghori, and made
 things so very disagreeable to him, that he left
 the court and retired to his old family residence
 at Gualier. This being represented to the king,
 revived his former discontent against Byram.
 The artful regent soon observed a visible altera-
 tion in the countenance of his sovereign. He
 therefore formed an expedition against Malava,
 to turn the king's active mind from the private
 politics of the court. Byram accordingly called
 Bahadur, the brother of the captain general Ze-
 mân from the province of Debalpoor, and gave
 him the command of the army destined to act
 against

against Baz Bahadur, the Parin prince of Malwa. A. D. 1567.
H. E. 965.

The king, much about this time, went out upon a hunting party, and made a progress as far as Secundra, within forty miles of Delhi, between the rivers. Mahim, his foster-brother joined him there, and told him, that his mother was extremely ill at Delhi, and was very desirous to see the king. He immediately set out for Delhi, and the noble Ahmed, a native of Neishapoor, an omrah of five thousand, who then commanded in the city, came out to meet Akbar with presents: that omrah was in great perplexity how to act. He was assured, that Byram would impute the king's journey to Delhi to his intrigues, and would not fail to get rid of him, as he had done of Musa Beg, a chief, whom under a like pretext, he found means to remove; he therefore acquainted the king of his apprehensions, and begged he might be permitted to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. The king was very much affected upon hearing this request, by observing how formidable the power of his minister was become to all his friends; but after he had considered the many obligations under which he and his family lay to that able man, he could not think of removing him: to lessen, however, in some measure, the apprehensions of Ahmed, the king wrote to the regent that he had, of his own accord, proceeded to Delhi, and not at the instigation of any person, but merely to pay his respects to his mother; that therefore a letter from him to appease the minds of those who were apprehensive of his displeasure, would be extremely necessary. Byram returned for answer, that "he should never entertain resentment against any whom the king was pleased to honor with his favor." He moreover sent Mahomed Seistani and Tirdi Beg to Delhi, with assurances

A. D. 1557. assurances of his loyalty and implicit obedience to
 Hig. 965. the king's royal pleasure.

A faction;
 accuses By-
 ram to the
 king.

In the mean time, Ahmed, finding the king disposed to protect him, and to hear accusations against Byram, gave a loose to his tongue one day in public against that minister. He was joined by the whole court, whom he had previously attached to his interest. In short, so many crimes were alledged against Byram, particularly his designs in favor of Abul Casim, the son of the prince Camiran, the king's cousin german, that Akbar was alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the regent's authority. When, therefore, Mahommed and Tirdi Beg arrived, instead of being admitted to an audience, they were immediately imprisoned.

Transacti-
 ons at
 court.

This breach between the king and Byram, is related with other particulars by the celebrated historian Abul Fazil. One day at Agra, says that great man, one of the king's elephants in the rutting season, attacked an elephant of Byram and killed him. Byram, for this offence, commanded that the keeper of the royal elephants should be put to death, without giving any notice to the emperor. Akbar was greatly displeased with this piece of cruelty, especially when he found that the poor man was innocent, having lost all his command over the outrageous animal. Soon after, continues Abul Fazil, as Byram was taking his pleasure in a barge on the river, one of the elephants, which had been carried down to the water, run furiously against the barge, and had almost sunk it, before, by the uncommon efforts of the rider, he was brought to obedience. The minister, naturally of a suspicious and unforgiving temper, imagined that these were actually plots laid against his life; and he publicly petitioned the king to punish the rider of the elephant.

The

The king, to appease Byram, and to remove all suspicions, ordered that the elephant-rider should be sent to him, to be punished at discretion. But Byram, either to make an example to others, or to gratify his resentment against the innocent man, who might even be said to have saved his life, ordered him also to be put to death.

The king was highly incensed by these two instances of Byram's presumption and cruelty. His displeasure became visible to the court; and there were not wanting many, who made it their business, by private insinuations, to encrease his resentment. The king, at length, came to the resolution of depriving Byram of the reins of government, which required some delicacy in the present situation of affairs. Some authors mention a scheme suggested to Akbar by his nurse*, upon this occasion, to get possession of the seals, which were in Byram's possession. They also say, that she discovered to him that minister's design to confine him, which she had accidentally heard, in a conversation between Byram and the queen-mother. This, say they, was the circumstance that determined Akbar to leave Agra. Abul Fazil mentions nothing of this affair; for that historian informs us, with great probability, that the whole was concerted between the two omrahs Adam and Mahim Aniga, on the part of the young king, who now began to be tired of a tutor, and thought he was capable of acting for himself. But to return from this digression.

When it became public that the deputies from Byram had been imprisoned by the king, every body predicted the ruin of the minister, and endeavoured to shake him off, as fast as possible.

* This was she that the king went to visit at Delhi.

They

A. D. 1558. They flocked daily to Akbar by hundreds to
 Hig. 966. Delhi. That young prince immediately issued a
 proclamation throughout the empire, that he had
 taken the administration upon himself, and that
 henceforth no orders, but his own, should be
 obeyed, Byram being dismissed from the re-
 gency.

Mali in-
 vades Cash-
 mire.

He is de-
 feated,

taken and
 confined.

Various
 schemes of
 Byram.

Mali, the great favorite of the emperor Hu-
 maioon, who had been confined in Lahore, hav-
 ing before this time found means to escape, went
 to Cumâl the Gicker, and engaged him in an
 expedition against Cashmire; but they were de-
 feated with great slaughter. Mali flying to De-
 balpoor, joined himself with Bahadur, of Seis-
 tan, who commanded in that province on the
 part of Akbar, and stirred him up to rebel: but
 Bahadur, repenting of his resolution, a quarrel
 ensued between them, and Mali was driven to-
 wards the Indus. From the banks of that river he
 fled to Guzerat, and from thence to Jionpoor,
 from whence the captain general Zemân, sent
 him prisoner to Agra. He was condemned to
 perpetual imprisonment in the fort of Biana.

Byram, finding that he had no farther hopes
 from the king, began to form a resolution of go-
 ing to Malava, to reduce that country, and found
 an independent kingdom. To accomplish his
 purpose, he proceeded to Biana, and called Baha-
 dur and other omrahs, who had been sent upon
 the expedition to Malava before him. But per-
 ceiving that he was deserted by those chiefs, in-
 whom he placed his greatest confidence, he be-
 gan to despair of succeeding in that enterprize.
 He, therefore, released Mali from his confine-
 ment, intending by his assistance, and that of the
 captain general, who commanded at Jionpoor,
 to attack the Patans of Bengal, and to fix himself
 in that kingdom. But before he had proceeded
 many days on this scheme, he changed his reso-
 lution,

lution, and took the way of Nagore, with a design to make a pilgrimage to Mecca; upon which, Bahadur, Kika, and many other omrahs, who had determined to follow his fortunes, took leave of him. But so irresolute was the unfortunate Byram become, at a time too when firmness, constancy, and perseverance were absolutely necessary, that, like a person infatuated, he had no sooner reached Nagore, after having lost all his friends, than he changed again his resolution of going to Mecca, and began to assemble troops, with a view to conquer the province of the five rivers, distinguished by the name of Punjab.

A. D 1558.
Hig 966.

His irresolute behaviour.

When the king was informed of this new scheme of Byram, he sent the noble Shufvini, his own preceptor, with a message to him to the following purpose. "Till now our mind has been taken up with our education, and the amusements of youth, and it was our royal pleasure, that you should be responsible for our empire. But as it is now our intention to govern our people, by our own judgment and pleasure, let our well-wisher contract his skirts from the business of the world, and retire to Mecca, without thirsting after vanity and ambition."

The king's message to him

Byram, upon receiving this letter, professed passive obedience, and sent his ensigns of state, elephants, banners and drums, by the hand of Hussein Kulli, to the king. He then returned to Nagore, to prepare for Mecca, being now abandoned by all his friends, except Willi Beg, Ismaiel Kulli, Shaw Kulli, Hassan Gadda, and Chaja Muziffer, the rest having joined the king. Among the latter, was the famous Mali, who, coming up to Akbar, when hunting, neglected to dismount, when he made his obeisance, for which he was immediately confined.

He resolves to go to Mecca.

Byram, having proceeded on his pilgrimage as far as Bickanere, repented of his resolution, and returned

Repents of his resolution, and leaves for-
ces.

A. D. 1559. returned again to Nagore, where he began to af-
 Hig. 967. semble troops. The king being informed of that proceeding, marched to Jidger. Pier Mahummud, being now returned from his banishment, to which he had been condemned by Byram, was thought a proper person to carry on the war against him. He was accordingly dignified with titles by the king, and sent with an army towards Nagore. The king, in the mean time, returned to Delhi, and sent orders to Monim, the governor of the kingdom of Cabul, to repair to court.

He retires
towards
Punjab.

Byram, upon the approach of Pier Mahummud, set out for Punjab, and was closely pursued by that omrah. When he arrived at the fort of Tibberhind, he threw all his baggage into that place, which was commanded by one of his adherents, by name Shere; but this traitor no sooner had got Byram's effects into the place, than he began to reckon upon them as his own, and turned out the guard which the unfortunate minister had sent to take charge of his baggage. Byram set out from thence for Debalpoor, which was then governed by one of his old friends, Mahommed the Usbeck. When he came near the place, he sent his secretary, Muziffer Ali, to wait upon him, but that ungrateful man, pretending to be affronted at Byram's request, confined the secretary, and sent him to the king. Byram, who had conceived great hopes from his friendship, was astonished at a behaviour so common to men in adversity, and set out, in great perturbation of mind, towards Jallender.

Defeated.

The king had, by this time, recalled Pier Mahummud, and appointed Azim to reduce Punjab, and to quell the rebellion of Byram. Azim coming up soon after with Byram, at Matchiwarrah, a battle ensued, which was maintained with great bravery on both sides; Azim's line being broke

broke by the enemy: but at length, several of Byram's principal officers being killed, he was defeated, and obliged to fly to the mountains of Sewalic. After this victory, the king appointed Chaja Hirri to the government of Delhi, by the title of the noble Asiph, and marched in person to Lahore. When Akbar had reached Ludhana, Monim met him, in his way from Cabul, and being graciously received, was honoured with the title of first of the nobles, and made prime minister of the empire.

The king's army having advanced near the mountains of Sewalic, a detachment of light horse entered the hills, where the Zemindars of that country, had convened in support of Byram to guard the passes: but they were driven from post to post; upon which, Byram, in great distress, sent his slave Jemmal to the presence, to represent his unfortunate situation, and to implore the king's mercy. Akbar immediately dispatched the omrah Abdulla, a native of Sultan-poor, with assurances of his clemency, and to bring the unhappy Byram to court. Accordingly, in the month of the second Ribbi, he was received, at some distance from the camp, by a considerable number of chiefs, whom the king had ordered to meet him. He was brought into the presence with every possible mark of favor and distinction. When he appeared within sight of the king, he hung his turban round his neck, and suddenly advancing, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne. The king instantly stretched forth his hand, ordered him to rise, and placed him in his former station, at the head of the omrahs. To dispel at once his uneasiness and grief, the king honored him with a splendid dress, and spoke to him after the following manner. "If the lord Byram loves a military life, he shall have the government of Calpé and Chindcri, in which

The king pursues him into the mountains.

Byram submits.

he

A. D. 1560. he may exercise his martial genius : if he chuses
 Hig. 968. rather to remain at court, our favor shall not be
 wanting to the great benefactor of our family :
 but should devotion engage the soul of Byram to
 perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, he shall be es-
 corted in a manner suitable to his dignity." By-
 ram replied : " The royal confidence and friend-
 ship for me, must be now diminished ; nay, they
 are past the hopes of recovery. Why then
 should I remain in the presence ? The clemency
 of the king is enough for me, and his forgive-
 ness for my late errors, a sufficient reward for
 my former services. Let then the unfortunate
 Byram turn his face from this world to another,
 and pursue his pilgrimage to Mecca." The king
 assented to his request, and ordered a proper re-
 tinue for him with 50,000 rupees a year, to sup-
 port his dignity. Byram soon after took leave
 of the king, who with a few attendants left the
 camp and went to Agra.

He resolves
 on a pilgri-
 mage to
 Mecca.

Takes the
 way of Gu-
 zerat.

Byram took the way of Guzerat, with an in-
 tention to proceed by sea to Mecca. When he
 arrived in the suburbs of the capital of Guzerat,
 which was then governed by Musi, an omrah of
 the Afgan, imperial family of Lodi, on the part
 of Actemad sovereign of the country, he was ac-
 costed by Mubarick Lohani, whose father in the
 battle with Himu, Byram had killed. The wretch
 pretended to embrace the unsuspecting Byram,
 drew a dagger and basely stabbed him to the
 heart. A mob of Afgans fell immediately upon
 Byram's retinue, and plundered them. This
 murder happened on the 24th of the first Jem-
 mad, in the 968th of the Higerah.

Akbar sends
 an army
 against Ma-
 lava.

Towards the close of the year 968, the emper-
 or appointed Adam and his favorite tutor Pier
 Mahumud to command an army destined for
 the conquest of Malava. Baz Bahadur, in whose
 hands that country was then, spent his time in
 luxurious

luxurious pleasures at Saringpoor, when he was informed of the expedition which the Moguls meditated against him: but the enemy had advanced within twenty miles of his capital, before he could prevail with himself to quit the pillows of indolence; and then in the best manner the time and his own confusion would permit, he prepared for action. But the brave Moguls upon the first onset shook his order of battle, and sent him with streaming eyes and a broken heart towards Burhanpoor.

Adam after the victory distributed the spoil and the governments of Malava among his soldiers, reserving the treasure, royal ensigns, and the ladies of the Harem for himself. He sent nothing except a few elephants to the king of what was customary on those occasions. Akbar fearing from this behaviour, that he entertained treasonable intentions, put the royal standard in motion towards him. When the imperial ensigns appeared before Shakeran, the governor of that fort on the part of Bas Bahadur delivered it up to the king. Akbar from thence made a sudden excursion by night, and in the morning arrived before Saringpoor, the capital of Malava. He met Adam coming out with an intention to besiege Shakeran: he permitted that omrah, to pay his respects, and then he carried him back to the city. Adam suspecting the king's displeasure and the cause of his visit, laid all the treasure and spoil at his feet: he excused himself by alledging, that he reserved every thing till he should have the honour of presenting them to Akbar in person. The king saw through his designs, but preferring clemency to rigour, he drew the pen of forgiveness over his crime.

The king soon after returned towards Agra; Akbar kills an enormous tygress. The king soon after returned towards Agra; Akbar kills an enormous tygress. hunting one day on the way, near Narvar, a great royal tygress with five young ones took the road before

A.D. 1561. before him. Akbar advanced to the animal;
 Hig. 969. while his retinue stood trembling with fear and astonishment to behold the event. The king having meditated his blow, spurred on his horse towards the fierce tygres, whose eyes flamed with rage, and with one stroke of his sabre, cut her across the loins and stretched her dead upon the ground. The omrahs who were present, in excess of joy, ran to kiss his royal stirrup, and offer up their thanks to God for his preservation.

Transac-
 tions at Jion-
 poor.

The king having remained some months at Agra, Sheri the son of the late emperor Mahomed, with 40,000 horse advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Jionpoor. He was opposed by the Mogul captain general who commanded that province, with 12,000 horse, and received a total defeat. Bahadur the brother of the captain general, distinguished himself in a very particular manner in this action; so that the two brothers were esteemed the boldest warriors of the age: but reckoning too much on their services, they neglected to send to the king the elephants which they had taken in the battle, which were always considered as royal property. The king, though he gave to the brothers all due praise for their valour, would by no means permit any violation of his laws or encroachment upon his prerogative: this determined him to march towards Jionpoor, but when he arrived at Kurrah, the brothers, sensible of his resolution and their own misbehaviour, advanced to congratulate him with all the spoils which they had taken, and other suitable presents. The king, whose generosity and clemency could be only equalled by his spirit, returned all, except what belonged properly to the exchequer. At the same time he gave them a gentle reproof for their neglect, and afterwards engaged

engaged their affection by his princely bounty and gracious favor. The king returned to Agra, and on the third day's march gave the brothers permission to go back to their government of Jionpoor.

By the time that the king had reached Agra, Azim, governor of the provinces about the five heads of the Indus, and Adan who commanded at Malava, arrived at court according to orders, with suitable presents. The king gave the government of Malava to his tutor Pier Mahumud, and the office of prime minister to Azim. The king after these transactions in the year 969, made a progress to Ajmere, to visit the shrine of Chaja: when Akbar arrived at Sumbre, Birbil the Indian prince of that country gave his daughter to him in marriage, and listed himself and his son Bowan Dafs, among the number of the king's omrahs. When Akbar had reached Ajmere, and had performed his devotions, he sent the prince Hussein of the imperial family of Timur, and governor of Ajmere, to invest the fort of Merta, which was in the territories of Maldeo, the unsubdued Indian prince of Marwar. He himself returned in three days and nights, with a retinue of six persons only to Agra, which was a distance of more than two hundred and sixty miles.

The prince Hussein having advanced near Merta, Jig Jal and Dafs, who were principal men of that country, threw a detachment into the place and prepared for a siege. Hussein invested the fort, and began to carry on his approaches. In a few days he extended one of his mines under a bastion, and sprung it, by which a practicable breach was made. He advanced in person with a select body of troops to the assault, while the enemy bravely filled the breach to oppose him. Though fresh supplies of troops mounted from time

A. D. 1561.
Hig. 969.

Promotions
at court.

Hussein be-
sieged Mer-
ta;

A D. 1561
Hig. 969.

which is
taken.

time to time, they were so warmly received, that Hufsein was obliged to sound a retreat, and the next morning he found that the breach was filled up by the Indian soldiers, who had continued to work, notwithstanding the fire he had kept up the whole night. The siege being prolonged for some months, the brave garrison were unable to hold out longer, and desired to capitulate; their request was granted, and the terms were, that they should march out with all their arms and horses. Jig Jal according to these terms left all his money and effects, and marched forth; but Dewan Dafs, who had been averse to the capitulation, collected five hundred of the garrison together, and having burnt all their effects, they rushed out of the place. Hufsein having heard of this breach of the capitulation, ordered them to be attacked, and the Rajaputs on the other hand fought with such valour, that they cut their way through the Mogul army with the loss of two hundred and fifty of their number. Among the slain was Dewan Dafs, whose head his friends carried away when they saw him mortally wounded, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Hufsein after having possessed himself of the fort, wrote an account of his victory to the king, and was honoured with particular favours.

Translators
in the
province of
Malava.

Pier Mahummud, governor of Malava, a man of resolution, and abilities, took up his residence in Shadi-abad-mendu, and carried on the war with Bas Bahadur with such success, that he entirely possessed himself of his dominions. He took the strong fort of Bijanagur, and put all the garrison to the sword, as they obliged him to risk an assault. Bas Bahadur having taken protection under the governor of Brampoor on the borders of the Decan, he sometimes by the aid of that chief, made incursions into the territories

ries of Malava, and kept the country in a state of hostility. Pier Mahummud was obliged to march against Branpnnr, and having taken it, ordered a cruel massacre of all the inhabitants, among whom was a number of philosophers and learned men, who resided in the place.

A. D. 1561.
Hig. 969.

Before Pier Mahummud had left this place, Bas Bahadur having prevailed upon Mubarick and Tiffal, the former the prince of Candez in the Decan, and the latter of Berar, to join him, advanced with a great army towards the Mogul, upon which he retreated to Bijanagur, his officers being all averse to engage. However he resolved to halt at Bijanagur contrary to all their opinions, and to give battle to the enemy. He did it, but not being supported by his officers, he was defeated, and being dismounted by a camel that attacked his horse in crossing the rapid river Narbudda, he was drowned. The enemy continuing the pursuit, drove the Moguls from place to place, as far as Agra, without being able to make one stand before them: so that Bas Bahadur in the year 969, recovered his whole dominions of Malava. The king immediately after this disaster, appointed Abdulla, an Ulbeck chief in his service, governor of Calpee, to carry on the war against Bas Bahadur. Abdulla drove him a second time out of his country among the mountains of Comilmere, and re-established the government of the Moguls in Mindu, and fixed his own residence as superintendant in that city.

The Mogul
governor
overthrown
and slain.

Malava lost,
and reco-
vered.

Scid Beg the son of Musum Beg, of the imperial family of Suffvi, and absolute agent for the king of Persia, arrived much about this time at the court of Agra, in the character of an ambassador, with valuable presents, and received a present for himself of two lacks of rupees from the king. Azim, who had been, some time before

An ambas-
sador from Persia.

A. D. 1561.
Hig. 969.

fore, appointed to the office of vizier, had acquired great influence in his ministerial department. Adam, who commanded at the first conquest of Malava, and by that exploit, had acquired great power in the presence, attempted to bring about the prime minister's ruin, as some courtiers had before done that of the famous Byram: but the intrigues of Adam were discovered, and his calumnies reverted upon his own head. Stung with disappointed malice, he at last determined to act the assassin himself. He accordingly one day in the audience chamber, while the minister was reading the Koran, according to custom, stabbed him under pretence that he took no notice of the salutation which Adam made him at his entrance, though he well knew, that at such a time it was not customary to make or return any compliments. Adam after having committed the murder, ascended one of the terraces, and stood there in hopes of the king's pardon, though he might otherwise have escaped.

Adam basely
assassinates the
vizier.

Adam is
killed by
the king,

The king who had been asleep in the apartments of the ladies, hearing the noise that was made on this occasion, asked the cause. When they informed him of what had happened, he arose, and without changing his sleeping dress, went up to the terrace in a great rage. He was struck with horror when he saw the blood of his minister. Having approached the murderer with a sword in his hand, he drew it half out, but reflecting upon his own dignity, he returned it again into the scabbard, and sternly asked the assassin, Why have you killed my vizier? The wretch, fearing that the king was going to kill him, seized his hands. This behaviour so enraged Akbar, that disengaging himself, he struck him with a blow of his fist, and laid him senseless at his feet. In this rage he ordered one of his

his attendants to throw the wretch over the wall, which was forty yards in height. A. D. 1562. Ma-
118. 970. him Anigah, this unfortunate man's father, died with grief about a month after, and Monim, formerly governor of Cabul who was an abettor of the assassination of the minister, fled to Lahore, where he was seized and sent to Agra: but as the proofs against him were not sufficient to condemn him, he was acquitted by the king, and had afterwards the address to work himself into favour.

The king conferred all the honours and estates of his father upon Aziz, the eldest son of the deceased vizier, excepting the offices of the Vizarit and Valkilit*. The Gickers
reduced The prince Adam, sovereign of those mountaineers called the Gickers, disturbing the peace of Punjab, the governors of that country were ordered to reduce him, and place Kummal one of the same nation, upon the throne. Kummal had been once miraculously preserved from death. Selim the late emperor of the Afgan race, ordered a prison, wherein he was at Gualier, with some hundreds of his nation who had been taken prisoners, to be blown up with gunpowder. This was done, and Kummal was thrown to some distance, without receiving any considerable hurt. The same year Kummal, by the aid of the Mogul chiefs, marched against his countrymen the Gickers, reduced that fierce nation, and took their sovereign Adam prisoner.

Chaja the father of the famous Hussein, came about this time from Turkestan to Lahore: he was there met by his son and brought to Agra, the king himself going out to congratulate him,

* The Vizarit and Valkilit are often joined in the same person, but the latter is reckoned the first office in the empire.

A.D. 1562. as he was of the race of Abdulla, one of the
 Hig. 970. greatest saints in Turkestan. Not long after
 Rebellion of these transactions, Hussein, a prince of the poste-
 Hussein. rity of Timur, whom we have often mentioned,
 either struck with madness, or some unknown
 apprehensions, fled to Ajmere with all the
 forces intrusted by the emperor to his care. This
 revolt occasioned great disturbances in that coun-
 try, to quell which Hussein Kulli the nephew of
 the regent Byram, was nominated to the go-
 vernment of Nagore, and ordered to proceed
 thither with a great force. Hussein having re-
 ceived intelligence of Kulli's march, left Ajmere
 in charge of one of his friends, and retreated
 to Jalore on the frontiers of the kingdom of Gu-
 zerat. Kulli proceeded to Ajmere, and possess-
 ed himself of that place by capitulation. Mali,
 the famous favourite of the emperor Humaioo,
 who had been released from his confinement upon
 promise of proceeding on a pilgrimage to Mecca,
 hearing of the rebellion of the prince Hussein on
 the way, returned and joined him. He march-
 ed by his command with a body of horse towards
 Narnoul, and there committed hostilities. Hussein
 Kulli, the imperial general, detached two omrahs,
 Ahmed and Eusoph against him, while he march-
 ed in person against the prince Hussein. Mali
 lay in ambush for the troops which were sent
 against him. They fell into the snare and were
 defeated with great slaughter, the two generals
 being slain in the action. The king at that time
 taking the diversion of hunting at Muttra, re-
 ceived intelligence of the defeat of his troops,
 and sent another army against Mali. The rebel
 fled before the imperial forces to Punjab, and
 from thence to the prince Hakim, the king's
 brother at Cabul. Hakim gave to Mali his sister
 in marriage, and raised him to the first office in
 that kingdom, for which he by that time paid lit-
 tle or no homage to Akbar.

The ungrateful refugee, however, had not been many months in station, before he aspired to the kingdom of Cabul, and basely assassinated the prince Hakim's mother, his own mother-in-law, who was a woman of uncommon abilities, and might with truth be said to have ruled that kingdom. He then pretended to act as regent for the young prince, who was still in his minority, with a view to get rid of him as soon as he could conciliate matters with the chiefs. In the mean time Soliman, prince of Buduchshan, came against him, and cut off the opening flower of his ambition, by depriving him of his life. Hussein having heard of the retreat of Mali, fled to Ahmedabad, in Guzerat.

A. D. 1563.
H. 2 971.

His villainy.

and death.

The king about this time, made a progress towards Delhi. As he was passing by the college of Anniga, a slave of the rebel the prince Hussein, by name Fowlad, who had been sent to assassinate the king, fixed an arrow in his bow and pointed it towards the sky. The royal retinue, imagining that the villain was going to shoot at some bird flying over head, gazed upward: he immediately lowered his aim to the king, who was at some distance upon his elephant, and let fly his arrow, which lodged itself some inches deep in Akbar's shoulder. In a moment a thousand swords were drawn, and the people cut one another, each anxious to kill the assassin, who was in a moment hewn to pieces. The surgeons being called, the arrow was, with great difficulty, extracted on the place, before all the people; the king not shrinking once at the operation: in about ten days the wound was closed up, Akbar returned to Agra, and soon after appointed Asaph, of whom we shall make frequent mention hereafter, governor of Kurrah and Mameckpoor.

An attempt
against the
king's life.

A. D. 1563.
Hig. 971.

The govern-
nor of Ma-
lava revolts,

he flies to
Guzerat.

The king of
Chandez, in
the Decan,
submits to
Akbar.

The king did not rest many days at Agra, before he set out for Narvar to hunt elephants. He had ordered Abdulla the Usbeck, who governed for him in Malava, to send his trained elephants to assist in this amusement, which he neglected to do. The king was very much enraged at his disobedience, and made a sudden incursion into Malava, though the periodical rains were at their height. Mahummud, a native of Neishapoor, in the kingdom of Seistan, governor of Saringpoor, joined the king by the way. When Akbar had reached Ugein, Abdulla, with all his forces and treasure, fled to Guzerat: the king pursued him about fifty miles, with a small body of cavalry: the rebel stood his ground, and fought with such success, that Akbar thought proper to return from the pursuit to Mindu, where he surveyed the buildings erected there by the imperial family of the Chilligis. While Akbar remained in that city, Mubarick king of Chandez in the Decan, paid him homage, and gave him his daughter in marriage. The king conferred the government of Malava upon one Shirra, and returned towards his capital. Upon the way, near the village of Sipiri, he fell in with a great herd of wild elephants. He ordered his cavalry to surround them, and he drove them, with great difficulty, into a fold constructed for that purpose: one of the male elephants, of a prodigious size, finding himself confined, strode over the ditch, bore down the wall and the palisades before him, and made his way into the plain. Three trained elephants were sent after him: he stood to fight, and before they could overcome and take him, he afforded very great diversion to the king; who was remarkably fond of the boisterous contention of those enormous animals.

In

In the year 972, Chaja Moaziin, the brother of the sultana Chuli, and husband to the king's aunt, for some impropriety of behaviour, was thrown into prison, where he died. The same year, the old fort of Agra, which was built of brick, was demolished, and the foundation of the new one of red freestone laid; and though a great and inagificent work, was finished in four years.

A. O. 1564.
Hig. 972.
Transacti-
ons at Agra.

By the intrigues of Abdulla, the Usbeck, so often mentioned, there was a report propagated, that the king, on his account, had taken a dislike to all the Usbeck race, and proposed to confine all the chiefs of that nation who were in his service. This calumny gained so much credit, that Secunder, and Ibrahim both Usbecks, and others, who had governments about Jionpoor and Behar, turned their heads from obedience, and drew over the captain general Zeman and his brother, the famous Bahadur, together with Shubiani to their party: Asaph, who held the government of Kurrah, on account of some disputes with the collector of the king's revenues, took part in their rebellion. In a short time, their army consisted of thirty thousand horse, with which they possessed themselves of all the territories near Behar and Jionpoor.

The Usbeck
Omrahs re-
bel.

News of this rebellion being brought to the king, he seemed to take no notice of it. He ordered his troops to attend him on a hunting party towards Narvar, in the opposite direction to the enemy. He accordingly employed himself in taking elephants for some days; during which time, Asherif, a scribe, was sent privately to Secunder, one of the chief rebels, to endeavour to bring him over from his faction. Laskar was sent with a great body of horse to seize the treasures of Asaph, upon whom the king had a large demand

The policy
of Akbar.

A. D. 1564. mand, which was the sole cause of that chief's rebellion.
 Hig. 972.

Asaph's war
 with the
 queen of
 Gurrah.

It seems, that when Asaph was made an omrah of five thousand, and obtained the government of Kurrah and Maneckpoor, he obtained permission of the king to subdue a country called Gurrah or Kattuc, lying between the provinces of Rintimpore, Malava, Behar and the Decan. At that time, the kingdom of Gurrah * was governed by a queen, whose name was Durgetti, famous for her beauty and accomplishments: her dominions were about three hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth: yet so flourishing was the country, that in this small tract, there were about seventy thousand towns and villages well inhabited; which had the good fortune never to have fallen under the dominion of foreigners.

Asaph, having heard of the riches of this country, disturbed the peaceable inhabitants, unaccustomed to the sound of war, with constant depredations; he at length marched against them with six thousand horse, and about double that number of infantry. The queen, with fifteen hundred elephants, eight thousand horse and some foot, prepared to oppose him. Like a bold Heroine she led on her troop to actions, cloathed in armour, with a helmet upon her head, mounted in a castle upon an elephant, with her bow and quiver lying by her side, and a burnished lance in her hand. Though her troops had not been accustomed to action, the love of national independence, and the exemple of their queen, inspired every breast with a lion's courage. Their eagerness to engage, made them march in disorder towards the enemy, which the queen observ-

* Now part of Orissa and Bundel-cund.

ing, commanded them to halt, and forming her line a new, gave her troops strict orders to march on slowly, as compact as possible, and to observe the signal to engage, when it should be displayed from the elephant of the royal standard.

In this manner she received the enemy, whom she quickly repulsed, and pressing upon them, laid six hundred Mogul horsemen dead on the field; she pursued the rest till the evening, with great slaughter. When night came on, the queen halted with her army, and gave them orders to wash and refresh themselves, that they might be prepared for a night attack upon the enemy, before they could recover from their consternation. But her minister, and the rest of her chiefs, less daring, and consequently less prudent than this heroine, opposed this salutary measure, and seditiously insisted on returning to the field of battle to bury their friends. She, accordingly, returned unwillingly; and, after the dead were burnt, again addressed her chiefs, and solicited them, one by one, to accompany her to storm the Mogul camp: none of them, however, had the spirit to second her in this daring enterprize. They vainly imagined, that the enemy would of their own accord evacuate the country.

The chiefs of the little kingdom of Gurrah, soon found, that they were fatally frustrated in their hopes. Asaph, to wipe away the disgrace which he had sustained the day before, and finding what enemy he had to deal with, advanced in the morning towards the queen, with his artillery; which, in the preceding action, he had left behind him, on account of the badness of the roads. The queen, upon Asaph's approach, advanced to a narrow pass, and prepared to oppose him. The Mogul, scouring the pass with his

A. U. 1564.
11 g 972.

A. D. 1564.
Hig. 972.

his artillery, soon opened to himself a way into the plain beyond it, where the queen's army was drawn up in order of battle. The prince Biâr, the queen's son, a youth of great hopes, as soon as the Moguls came into the plain, made a resolute charge, and exhibited prodigies of valour. He repulsed the enemy twice, but in the third attack, being wounded, he became faint with loss of blood. When he was just falling from his horse, his mother, who was mounted on an elephant in the front of the battle, observed her son ready to expire. She immediately called to some of her people to carry him back to the rear; many of them accordingly crowded around him, some with a friendly intention to serve him, but more to have an opportunity to quit the field. The loss of the prince, in short, together with the retreat of so many with his person, struck a panic into the rest, so that the unfortunate queen was left only with three hundred men in the field. Durgetti, however, seemed no ways affected by her desperate situation; she stood her ground with her former fortitude, till she received an arrow in her eye; she endeavoured to extricate it from the wound, but as she tugged it, part of the steel broke short, and remained behind. In the mean time, another arrow passed through her neck, which she also drew out, but nature sinking under the pain, a dimness swam before her eyes, and she began to nod from side to side of the howdar *. She, however, recovered from her fainting by degrees; and a brave officer of her household, by name Adhar, who drove her elephant, singly repulsed numbers of the enemy whithersoever he turned the outrageous animal. He begged permission, as

* A wooden tower on the back of the elephant.

the day was now irretrievable, to carry the queen from the field. She rejected the proposal with a noble disdain: "It is true, said she, we are overcome in war, but shall we ever be vanquished in honor? Shall we, for the sake of a lingering ignominious life, lose that reputation and virtue which we have been so solicitous to acquire? No: let your gratitude now repay that service for which I lifted up your head, and which I now require at your hands. Hastie, I say; let your dagger save me from the crime of putting a period to my own existence."

Adhar burst into tears, and begged, that as the elephant was swift of foot, he might be permitted to leave the field, and carry her to a place of safety. In the mean time, the queen, finding that the enemy crowded fast around her, and that she must be taken prisoner, suddenly leaning forward, seized the dagger of Adhar, and plugging it into her bosom, expired. The death of the queen, rendered Afaph's victory complete. Six Indian chiefs, upon their elephants, still stood firm: and ashamed of being outdone by a woman, dedicated their lives to revenge the death of the queen.

Afaph, a few days after this battle, laid siege to the fortress of Jora, where all the treasures of this noble family had been for ten generations deposited. The hopes of gain rendered the Moguls desperate; they began to attack the fort with uncommon resolution, till the place was taken. The young prince, now a little recovered from his wounds, bravely exerted what little strength he had left, lost his life in defence of his independence; and kingdom. The unfortunate garrison, according to their barbarous custom, had performed the joar *. This dreadful ceremony,

* The joar is, a general massacre of the women and children.

A. D. 1564.
Hig. 972. was performed after this manner: a house was filled with wood, straw and oil: the unfortunate victims were forced in, and fire set to the horrid pile. When the bloody conquerors, who had brought this dreadful calamity upon the miserable Indians, entered the place, they found two women still alive, and untouched by the flames; one of them was called Camelawilli, the sister of the deceased queen, and the other the daughter of the Indian prince of Biragur, who had been brought to be espoused by the young but unfortunate prince of Gurrah. These two ladies were reserved by Asaph, for the king. The riches of the fortress of Jora, in gold, silver, jewels and precious effects were invaluable; of gold alone, there were found, in one treasury, one hundred and one chests of mhrs. When Asaph had glutted his avarice and ambition with the treasure and blood of this brave, though peaceable family, he took up his residence in that country. His view was to maintain his conquest against the king; and he, therefore, did not return to his government of Kurrah. That avarice, which prompted him to this public robbery; prevented him from presenting the king with his part of the plunder. Out of a thousand elephants, which he had taken, though all should fall to the share of the king, he sent him only two hundred of the worst; and sent no part of the jewels and treasure. It was therefore this just demand which the king had upon Asaph, that made that ambitious omrah join in rebellion with the disaffected Usbeck chiefs.

The king
marches
against
Asaph, falls
sick and re-
turns.

The king having found that his general Laskar could effect nothing against Asaph, he determined to march in person into Gurrah. Having therefore left Narvar, he continued his route for some days towards Gurrah. Akbar being seized with a fever on account of the heat, which
in

in that sandy soil was excessive, he returned to Agra, dispatched Shahim Sellauri, Biddai, Amin, and other omrahs, against Secunder the Usbeek, by whom they were defeated, and the two last taken prisoners. The king apprized of this disaster, sent Monim, who had been dignified with the title of first of the nobles, with an army some days journey in front, and in the month of Shawal 973, followed in person with all the forces he could raise.

When king had arrived at Kinnoge, he selected a body of horse, and made an excursion towards Lucknow, the capital of the province of Oud, to surprize Scoonder, the rebellious Usbeek, who was in that place: but the rebel being informed of the emperor's approach, evacuated Lucknow, and fled to his associate in treason, Zeman, the captain general, with whom he crossed the Ganges. The king proceeding to Jionpoor, Asaph sued for pardon, and by the mediation of the noble Mudgenu, was admitted to the presence, and again restored to favor, upon settling his accounts concerning the plunder of Gurrak. A few days after his submission, Asaph was detached with five thousand chosen horse, against the enemy. He came to the ferry of Nirhin, and was opposed in crossing the river, but instead of making any dispositions to gain the passage, he sat down and passed the time in riot and foolish negotiations, for which he had no authority. The king being informed of his negligence, stripped him of his estate. Asaph with his brother, relinquished his troops, and set out with great expedition to Gurrak.

The king sent his general Monim; to take charge of the army which Asaph had forsaken; and the rebels in the mean time, under Secunder and Bahadur, crossed the Jumna, and raised disturbances

A. D. 1565.
Hig 973.

The king
marches
against
Lucknow.

Asaph sub-
mits.

His misbe-
haviour,

and flight to
Gurrak.

Motions of
the rebels.

A D. 1565. turbances in the provinces between the rivers,
 Hig. 973. while the captain general opposed the Imperial
 army at the Ganges. The king being informed
 of these motions, detached Bidda and other
 omrahs, under the command of the Amir Ulluck,
 to stop the progress of Bahadur; but in the mean
 time Zeman the captain general repenting of his
 disloyalty, sent a number of elephants and other
 presents to the king, and Monim interceding
 for his pardon, Akbar was prevailed upon to re-
 ceive him into favor, and draw the pen of obli-
 vion over his crimes. He confirmed him in all
 his estates and honours, which he had forfeited by
 his rebellion.

Zeman
 submits.

The Impe-
 rial army
 under Ul
 Muluck
 overthrown
 by the re-
 bels.

Ul Muluck having come up with Secunder
 and Bahadur, was upon the point of engaging
 them, when he received a letter from Bahadur,
 acquainting him that his brother Zeman, had sent
 his mother with presents to the king to inter-
 cede for pardon, and therefore that he would be
 glad to avoid extremities, till he heard the con-
 sequence of that negociation. Muluck, who had
 heard nothing of this matter, thinking it to be
 a political fetch to gain time or lull him to secu-
 rity, paid no regard to it, but drew out in order
 of battle. Secunder who commanded the van of
 the rebel army, made the best disposition the time
 would permit to receive him, but was obliged
 to retreat with great loss towards the body of the
 army, which by this time was formed by Ba-
 hadur. The Imperialists, who from the flight of
 Secunder, concluded the victory already their
 own, pursuing in an irregular manner, were
 received so warmly by Bahadur, that they were
 repulsed in turn, and would never more shew
 their face to the pursuers, so that the rebels gain-
 ed a complete victory and great spoil. The Impe-
 rial general fled with the scattered remains of his
 army to Kinnoge.

Akbar

Akbar in the mean time as peace was concluded with Zeman, went to take a view of the fortifications of Chinar and the city of Benaris. When the news of the late defeat of the imperialists arrived in the royal camp, Zeman, though so lately pardoned, being destitute of every principle of gratitude, loyalty and honor, again deserted and took possession of Ghazipoor and the adjacent territories. The king enraged at this baseness, flew into a violent passion with his general Monim, by whose mediation he had pardoned Zeman. He immediately ordered the captain general's mother to be confined, and with all expedition marched towards the traitor, who upon his approach fled to the hills. Bahadur taking advantage of the king's absence from Jionpoor, entered that place, and took the citadel by escalade, where he released his mother, and confined Asherif the imperial governor; with all the principal persons in the garrison.

A. D. 1566.
Hij. 974.

Zeman
again re-
bels.

The rebels
take Jion-
poor.

The king hearing of the taking of Jionpoor, gave over the pursuit of Zeman, and returning towards that city, issued out orders to all the viceroys of the provinces to join him with all their forces. Upon Akbar's approach, Bahadur evacuated Jionpoor, and fled towards Benaris. The rebel Zeman now seeing such preparations against him, in all the provinces which remained firm in their allegiance, began again to despair of success, and had the confidence to address the king a second time for pardon, which by a strange perversion of policy, and an unjustifiable act of clemency, or rather weakness in the king, he obtained, as well as a confirmation of all his estates and honors. The king after passing his royal word so all these favours, ordered Zeman to come to court: but the traitor excused himself, by pretending that shame for his past offences would not permit him to appear in the presence,

which are
taken by
the king

Zeman par-
doned a se-
cond time

till

A. D. 1566. till time should erase his behaviour from his ma-
 Hig. 974. jesty's mind ; that as soon as the king should re-
 turn to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur,
 would accept the honor which the royal benevo-
 lence intended to confer upon them.

The king's
 weakness.

It surprizes, it even disgusts the friends of the
 memory of the renowned Akbar, to find that he
 should admit of this excuse, or trust to the oath
 of a man already perjured : but the sincere mind
 of Akbar, could not suspect in others that base-
 ness which was a stranger to his own soul. He
 returned to Agra, and left this snake to collect
 fresh poison. When Akbar had arrived at Agra,
 he sent Mendi with four thousand horse, to drive
 Afaph out of his government of Gurrah, which
 he had still in his possession.

Zeman
 again re-
 volts.

Zeman, as might have been foreseen, took this
 opportunity to strengthen his party. Treason
 still fermented in secret within his soul, and he
 invited Afaph to join him. Afaph accepted of
 the proposal, and left Gurrah in possession of his
 friend and dependant Cassim. Zeman in the
 mean time forgetting his oath to wait on the
 king at Agra, during six months maintained him-
 self in a princely independence over all the eastern
 provinces. Afaph, who had by this time joined
 him, finding himself neglected and treated with
 contempt, fled to Kurrah his original Jagier, was
 pursued by Bahadur, defeated and taken prisoner.
 In the mean time Afaph's brother, vizier Chan,
 who had escaped in the action, rallied the troops,
 and returning, surprized the conquerors, and re-
 scued Afaph out of their hands. The brothers
 then fell upon Kurrah, and possessed themselves
 of that country.

An embassy
 from Ca-
 bul.

An ambassador about this time, arrived from
 the prince Hakim the king's brother, who go-
 verned Cabul, acquainting him, that their cousin
 Soliman

Soliman of Buduchshan, ever since he had defeated and killed Mali, continued to read the Chutba of Cabul in his own name; that he had appointed Mirza Sultan to act in that city in his behalf, which had obliged Hakim to expel him from that office; for which affront Soliman was again preparing to invade Cabul: he therefore earnestly entreated Akbar's aid to oppose him.

The king, fearing more from the encroachments of his northern enemies, than from the soft sons of the eastern provinces, immediately ordered the governors of the countries about the five heads of the Indus, and the noble Kulli viceroy of Moulton, to assist Hakim, as soon as ever they should be certain of the enemies attempts upon Cabul. Feredoon of Cabul who was one of the king's omrahs, was also sent from the presence with what troops he retained in pay to succour Hakim: but before the royal orders arrived either at Punjab or Moulton, and consequently long before any succours could reach Cabul, Soliman had invested that city. Hakim evacuated it in a few days and retreated to the Nilab, one of the branches of the Indus, where he met Feredoon coming to his assistance. This treacherous omrah, proposed to Hakim to seize upon Lahore, assuring him that Akbar was in no condition to oppose him, being involved in a war with the Usbeck rebels, who had possessed themselves of all the eastern provinces: that after he should be possessed of that rich and powerful province, he would find little difficulty in driving Soliman out of Cabul.

The unprincipled and weak Hakim infeasible of the baseness of this project, ungratefully began to take measures to put it in execution, and marched to Lahore in conjunction with Feredoon. Hakim's design upon Lahore being noised abroad, the omrahs of the provinces of the five rivers, particularly

A. D. 1566.
Hug. 974.

The king
issues orders
to aid his
brother at
Cabul.

Hakim's
designs upon
Lahore.

A. D. 1566. particularly Cuttub Anniga, and Pier Mahumud, threw all their forces into the city, and prepared for a vigorous defence. Hakim fat down before the place, and used every art and persuasion to bring over those omrahs to his interest, but without effect.

Besieges
that city.

The king
marches to-
wards La-
hore.

The king enraged as well as alarmed at this rebellion, laid aside his intended expedition against the Usbecks, and turned his arms towards Lahore. He began his march towards that city on the 14th of the first Jemmad 974, leaving Agra under the government of his faithful general Monim. Akbar having arrived at Sirhind, the news of his approach reached Lahore. The citizens immediately began to beat their drums, to sound their trumpets, and to make every demonstration of joy. This unusual noise waked Hakim, who was asleep in his tent: he asked the meaning of that uproar, and was told that the king was come expeditiously from Agra. Hakim believing that the king was already at his heels, mounted his horse without delay, and retreated precipitately with his cavalry towards Cabul: he came very opportunely to that city, and took it by surprize. Soliman having retired to Buduchshan during the winter. The king in the mean time advanced to Lahore, where he spent a few days in hunting: he then sent back Mudgenu to possess himself of Kurrah and Manekpoor, which Afaph had seized. Much about this time the sons of Mirza Sultan governor of Simbol, rose in rebellion. This insurrection was crushed in the bud by the other Mogul chiefs who were possessed of estates in the adjacent territories. The young rebels were defeated and driven towards Malava. They however possessed themselves of that country without much opposition, there being at that time no imperial forces in that province. Mirza Sultan upon
account

account of the rebellion of his sons, was seized and imprisoned in Biana, where he soon after died. A. O. 1566.
Hig. 974.

The Usbeck rebellious chiefs, in the eastern provinces, improved the king's absence to their own advantage, and extended their conquests on all sides. This obliged the king to return to Agra, before which city he ordered all his forces from the provinces to rendezvous. He was in a few weeks ready to take the field against the rebels, with two thousand elephants and above a hundred thousand horse. The rebellious captain general at that time besieging Eusoph in the fort of Sherigur, hearing of the king's approach, retreated to Kurrah, in which place his brother Bahadur had invested Mudghenu the imperial general. The king closely pursued Zeman, but when he had reached Raibarrili, he heard that the rebel was crossing the Ganges, with an intention to march to Malava, and join the sons of Mirza Sultau, who had possessed themselves of that province, or to make an alliance with the king of the Decan.

The king hastened his march and arrived at the ferry of Maneckpoor in the evening. No boats could be procured, and Akbar impatient to engage the rebels, mounted his elephant, and contrary to the advice of all his omrahs, took the river which was then very deep, and had the good fortune to pass over in safety: one hundred horse plunged into the stream and swam after the king. Akbar in the morning came before the enemies camp with his hundred horse, and Mudghenu and Asaph joined him immediately with all the garrison of Kurrah. The king
sees us across
the Ganges.

The enemy not suspecting that the king would attempt to cross the river without his army, had spent the night in festivity, and could hardly believe their senses, when they heard the royal drums beating the imperial march. They at length He comes
before the
rebel army.

A. D. 1566.
Hig 974. length in the utmost confusion began to form their line, but before they were in compleat order, Akbar charged them with great violence: Baba Chan at the head of the king's light scouts, penetrated through the camp of the rebels as far as the tents of Zeman, where he was repulsed by Bahadur, and driven back with precipitation among the king's ranks, which occasioned some disorder among the files of Mudghenu. Bahadur in the mean time turned towards the center, where the king commanded in person: Akbar observing him, came down from his elephant, and mounting a horse, pressed towards him; but by this time an arrow having killed Bahadur's horse, he was obliged to retreat on foot, among his own troops. The king immediately commanded his few elephants to advance: those animals engaging furiously with those of the enemy, killed some of them upon the spot, and drove back the rest among their own ranks.

The rebels
totally
overthrown.

Zeman encouraging his men, still continued the action with great bravery, till his horse having received two wounds, he was obliged to quit him, and while he was mounting another, he was trodden to death by an elephant. The rebels now fell into confusion: distracted for want of orders, they turned their face to flight. Bahadur was taken prisoner, and carried before the king: What evil had I done to you, said Akbar, thus to provoke you to draw the sword of treason against me? He ordered that particular care should be taken of Bahadur; but some of the omrahs, as soon as the king's back was turned, fearing that his clemency would pardon that consummate rebel, prevented it by putting him immediately to the sword. Akbar, though it is highly probable that he would have forgiven Bahadur, made no inquiries concerning his death

death. The heads of the brothers were sent to Punjab and Cabul. Alli Beg the Ulbeck, Ear Alli, Mirza Beg, Cufal Beg, and Amir Shiw, a native of Buduchshan, all rebel chiefs, were also taken prisoners and carried by the king to Jionpoor, where they were trodden to death by elephants. This decisive action happened upon the first of Zilhidge 974, and is an instance of the daring intrepidity of the renowned Akbar.

The government of Kurrah was conferred upon the faithful Monim, known by the title of first of the nobles, and soon after Secunder the Ulbeck, who was besieged in the fort of Jud, fled to Gorriepoor. The rebellion of the Ulbecks being thus quashed, and the peace of the eastern provinces restored, the king in the month of Mohirrim 975, returned in triumph to Agra.

During the rebellion of the chiefs of the Ulbeck Tartars in the service of India, the Raja, Udai Singh had taken great advantage of Akbar's distress. This determined the emperor without remaining long at Agra, to march against that Indian prince. Having arrived before the fort of Suisoob, the governor evacuated the place and retreated to his master Surjun the Hindoo prince of Rintimpore. Akbar left a garrison in Suisoob, and proceeded to the fort of Kakeran, on the frontiers of Malava. The sons of Sultan Mirza, who had possessed themselves of Mindu, hearing of the emperor's progress, were greatly perplexed. To compleat their misfortunes, Ali Mirza their great friend and counsellor died at that time, and his adherents fled with precipitation towards the kingdom of Guzerat.

The king left Malava under the charge of Ahmed of Neshapoor, and marched from Kakeran to expel the Indian prince from Chitor. The

A.D. 1567.

Fig. 975.

Raja left eight thousand disciplined Rajaputs, with a great store of provisions in the fort of Chitor, which is built on a mountain, and retired himself with his family to an inaccessible place. The king immediately invested Chitor, and set five thousand pioneers to work in throwing up trenches, and carrying on approaches to the place. When he had completed two batteries, and carried two mines under different bastions, he endeavoured to spring them at once: but one of them going off before the other, blew up one of the bastions and made a practicable breach. Two thousand men who were prepared to storm, advanced immediately, upon a supposition that both of the mines had been sprung. They divided into two bodies in order to enter at once both branches: one of the parties advancing near the bastion, perceived that the mine had not been sprung, but before they could retreat it blew up, and killed above five hundred of the Moguls, and about double that number of the enemy who were crowded on the bastion. Among the latter were fifteen chiefs of distinction. The explosion so terrified those who were entering the breach, that they retreated in the utmost consternation.

The king
kills the go-
vernor of
Chitor.

Another mine was immediately carried on by the king, but as he was one day standing in one of the batteries, he perceived Jeimal, the governor of the place, very assiduous in filling up the breaches, and giving orders for the defence: the king immediately called for a fuzee, and took so good an aim that he lodged the ball in Jeimal's forehead, and laid him dead on the spot. The spirit of the besieged fell with their chief, and in the utmost despair, they performed the horrid ceremony of the Joar, put all their wives and children to the sword, and burned their bodies with

with that of their governor, on a prodigious funeral pile. The Imperial army perceived what was going on by the light of the fire: they advanced under the cover of night to the breach, which they found abandoned, so that they entered the place without opposition. It was day-light before a number sufficient to attack the enemy could enter: then the king in person led on his men, and the unfortunate garrison devoting themselves to death, had retired to their temples. Akbar perceiving that he must lose a great number of his troops in case of a close attack, ordered a distant fire to be kept up upon the desperate Rajaputs, till he had introduced three hundred elephants of war, which he immediately ordered to advance to tread them to death. The scene became now too shocking to be described. Brave men rendered more valiant by despair, crowded around the elephants, seized them even by the tusks, and inflicted upon them unavailing wounds. The terrible animals trode the Indians like grasshoppers under their feet, or winding them in their powerful trunks, tossed them aloft into the air, or dashed them against the walls and pavements. Of the garrison, which consisted of eight thousand soldiers and of forty thousand inhabitants, thirty thousand were slain, and the most of the rest taken prisoners. A few escaped in the confusion, by tying their own children like captives, and driving them through the king's camp. They by this means passed undiscovered, being taken for some of the followers of the camp.

A.D. 1567.
112. 975.
Chitor
Normed.

A dreadful
slaughter.

The government of the strong fort of Chitor was given to Afaph Hirrivi, and the king returned towards his capital. On the way a tyger happened to be roused before him: he gave orders that no body should touch him, and riding forward himself, he began to wound him with

The king in
danger from
a tyger.

A. D. 1567.
Hig. 975

with arrows. The terrible animal stood growling on a rising ground near the king, and being enraged by his wounds, he ran directly towards Akbar, who stood to receive him with his lance. One of his attendants named Adil, fearing the consequence, rushed between Akbar and the tyger, and aimed a fortunate blow at the animal, but he himself was tossed under his paws, and would have in a moment expired; had not some others rushed to his assistance, and given the tyger a deadly wound, which both saved the king and Adil from imminent danger.

Disturbances in
Guzerat
quelled.

Akbar having arrived at Agra, received advices that Ibrahim Hussein and Mahommed, had revolted from Zingis prince of Guzerat, and were again returned to Malava, having commenced hostilities with the siege of Ugein. The king dispatched Killich of India and Kifvini to expel them. Upon the approach of this army, the two Husseins raised the siege, and retreating precipitately to the Nirbudda, crossed that river and fled again towards Guzerat.

Akbar in-
vests Rin-
timpore.

In the month of Regib, in the year 976, the king marched from Agra with an intention to reduce Rintimpore, where the Indian prince Surjan, who had bought that strong fort from Hujaz one of the dependants of the late emperor Selim, prepared to defend himself to the last extremity. On the 22d of Ramzan 976, the king invested the place, and having properly reconnoitered it, ordered a great battery to be constructed on an adjoining hill, called Rin: he with great difficulty dragged up his heavy artillery to this eminence; two of the pieces being capable to receive a stone ball of six or seven maunds, or one of iron of thirty maunds*.

* The size of these guns might be reckoned incredible, did there not remain to this day in India pieces of as extraordinary a bore: particularly one at Arcot, and another at Dacca.

In a few days a part of the wall and a great number of the houses were laid in ruins, and at the end of the month the garrison driven to difficulties, solicited to capitulate. The conditions proposed by them were, to have the liberty of retiring unmolested, leaving all their wealth and effects to the king. These terms were accordingly accepted, and the king took possession of Rintimpore. A. D. 1567.
Huz 977.

Akbar after this conquest made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Chajr Moin at Ajmere, and from thence returned to Agra. From that city he went to visit the learned and venerable Selim in the village of Sikri: he questioned him according to the ceremonies, and was told, it is said, that he would soon have issue that would live and prosper; all the children were born to him before that time, dying in their infancy. Soon after, the favourite Sultana became pregnant, and upon the 17th of the first Rabi, in the year 977, she was brought to bed of a son, who was named Selim. Upon this occasion the king published an act of grace to all prisoners, and ordered a day of thanksgiving to the Almighty: soon after he performed a vow of pilgrimage on foot, to the shrine of Chajr Moin at Ajmere with his whole army in the procession, then returning by the way of Delhi, the king near that city took the diversion of the chase. Return to
Agra.
A son born
to the king.

The Indian prince Rani Chund, who had possession of the strong fort of Callinger, which he had taken from the dependants of the emperor Selim, hearing about this time, that the king meditated an expedition against him; fearing the fate of Rintimpore and Chitor, made terms for the delivery of the place, which was accordingly put into the hands of the king. Upon the third of Mohirrim 978, the king had another son born to him in the house of the venerable Callinger
jurisdiction

A. D. 1570. Hig. 978. nerable Selim *, whom he called Murâd. He upon this account made another pilgrimage to Ajmere, and ordered the town to be fortified with a stone wall. The emperor from thence proceeded to Nagore, where Chundersein the son of Maldeo, and the Indian prince of Bicanere, came out to meet him with valuable presents. The latter presented the king with his beautiful daughter. Akbar from Nagore marched to the town of Ajodin, and visiting the tomb of the celebrated poet and philosopher Ferid Shukurgunge, proceeded to Debalpoor, where Koka who was in possession of that place, presented him with a large sum of money. The king from thence passed to Lahore, where Husein a Turkuman chief, governor of that city and province, came also out to meet him in the same manner with great presents.

Akbar returns to Agra.

On the first of Siffer 979 the emperor left Lahore, and returned by the way of Firofa to Ajmere, and from thence proceeded to Agra. Secunder the famous rebel, and only one remaining of the Usbecks chiefs, who had revolted, having long lurked about the woods of Bengal, and committed ravages on the inhabitants, was about this time seized by Monim, governor of Jionpoor, and sent to the king, who according to his usual clemency pardoned him.

The king invades the kingdom of Guzerat.

The king esteeming the village of Sikri, fortunate to him, as two sons were born to him there, by the means of the prayers of the saints with whom he left his favorite mistresses; he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid there, which after the conquest of Guzerat, he called the city of victory. In the year 980, the king-

* It seems the king had left some of his beautiful mistresses in the house of Sheck Selim, to receive the benefit of the prayers of that holy man.

dom of Guzerat being torn to pieces by intestine divisions, Akbar seized upon that opportunity to declare war against it. He therefore marched to Ajmere under pretence of a pilgrimage, and from that place detached his general Callan before him towards Guzerat. The king followed at some distance with the main body of the army. Akbar in his way appointed the Indian prince Singh, to the government of Joelpoor, the residence of Raja Maldeo, whom on account of some misdemeanor he deposed. When the emperor arrived at Nagore, he received advices of the birth of another son, on the 2d of second Jemmad, in the house of the holy and venerable Danial, whom he with great propriety called Danial, as it was to the saint's prayers no doubt he owed this piece of good fortune *

The king appearing with his army on the confines of Guzerat, Shere, an omrah of distinction who defended the frontiers, abandoned his post and fled with precipitation. The king took immediate possession of the city of Pattan, and gave the government of it to Ahmed, one of the race called Seids, or descendants of the prophet. He from that place moved his standard of victory towards Ahmed-abad; but before he had marched two stages, Muziffer the king of Guzerat came to meet him, and without a blow, surrendered his kingdom into his royal and victorious hands, so that the king entered Ahmed-abad, the capital of Guzerat, in as peaceable a manner, as if he had been entering Agra. To account for this it may not be improper to say

which submits without a blow.

* One might be tempted to think, that as Akbar left his wives in charge of the Saiots of Sikri, he owed some of his sons to more than the prayers of those holy persons: it being the opinion of the Mahomedan doctors, as well as of some grave divines among ourselves, that prayer is more effectual when the means are used.

A. D. 1572. something concerning the state of Guzerat at that
 Hig. 980. period.

The state of Guzerat. Mamond descended of a Patan family, the late king of Guzerat, having sometime, before this event, died, his nobles, particularly Actemad and Amad, who possessed all the power of the government during the minority of the prince Ahmed, the son and successor of Mamood, finding him begin to think for himself, were unwilling to part with their power, and found means privately to make away with him: but to keep up the appearance of loyalty, they raised a child of doubtful birth to the throne, on whom they imposed the name of the king Muziffer, and divided the kingdom among themselves in the following manner. Ahmed-abad, Cambait, and some other provinces, were possessed by Actemad; Anduka, Doluc, and some other countries, by Juil the grandson of Mubarick; Surat, Biroge, Birod and Japanier, by the noble Zingis, son of the co-regent Amad, while other nobles who had influence in the state, had the rest of the kingdom partitioned among them. The nominal king Muziffer was in the mean time cooped up by Actemad in Ahmed-abad; during this oligarchy, the government became very oppressive, by continual wars and civil dissensions. This made the unhappy people of Guzerat turn their eyes towards Akbar, to relieve them from their petty tyrants, who like vultures, gnawed the bowels of their country. The easy conquest of Guzerat was therefore no ways surprising, as the nominal king tired of his situation, hoped more from the favor of a foreign prince, than from his own factions and independant nobles.

But

But to return from this digression. The second day after the king's entrance into Ahmedabad, he was waited upon by the principal nobles of Guzerat, who hastened to make their submission. But Ali and Hujaz two Abyssinian nobles, were ordered into confinement, as they gave some evident signs of discontent. Hussein was still at the head of an army in Birote, and his brother Hussein Mirza at the head of another considerable force near Surat. The king therefore resolved to reduce them: Aichiar, one of the omrahs of Guzerat, having broke his parole of honor and fled at this time, all the other nobles were ordered into close confinement. When the king arrived at the port of Cambait, he appointed Azim Mirza governor of Ahmedabad.

Hussein, who we have already observed was in Birote, hearing of Akbar's approach, and suspecting the fidelity of Rustum, a native of Rumi*, one of his principal officers, assassinated him, and discovered an inclination to march into Punjab to raise disturbances in that quarter. The king receiving intelligence of this design about midnight, left his camp in charge of Jehan and Callich Chan, and with a chosen detachment marched himself that night with all expedition to cut off Hussein's retreat: the next day he reached the river Mhenderi, which runs by the town of Sirtal, with only forty horse, the rest having lagged behind with fatigue. The enemy being encamped on the opposite bank of the river, and in sight, the king thought it prudent to proceed no further, till the rest of his detachment should arrive. Had Hussein therefore known any thing of the art of war, he might have easily taken Akbar prisoner. But that unenterprising officer made no attempt of that kind, till the king was joined by

A. D. 1572.
Hig 980.
Akbar's
transactions
in Guzerat.

Exploits of
Akbar a-
gainst Hus-
sein.

* Natolia.

A. D. 1572. a fresh detachment, which had been ordered
 Hig. 980. some days before to Surat, and happened to be
 then encamped at a little distance.

This small party consisted only of seventy horse,
 at the head of which there happened to be five
 principal nobles, Mamood Baherra, the Indian
 He attacks and defeats 1000 of the enemy with 70 horse. princes Dafs, Man Singh, and Kulli, and Raja
 Surjun of Rintimpore. With these the king,
 without waiting for more troops, took the des-
 perate resolution to attack the enemy, one thou-
 sand of whom commanded by Husein, waited to
 receive him, while the main body of the army
 pursued their march. It happened very fortu-
 nately for Akbar that the enemy instead of per-
 mitting him to come into the plain, opposed him
 between two hedges, where not above six horse-
 men could fight abreast. The king in this narrow
 pass put himself upon the footing of a private
 trooper, and performed extraordinary feats of
 personal valour: which however avail little to
 wipe away the folly of this piece of his conduct.
 At last the courage which Akbar's behaviour na-
 turally raised in his followers, made them as des-
 perate as himself, so that after a long engagement
 with the enemy sword in hand, they beat them
 back, and at last totally defeated them, with the
 loss only of one officer, and a few private men.

Akbar be-
 sieges Su-
 125.

Husein fled to his army, but such was their
 consternation and opinion of Akbar's prowess,
 that the greatest part of his forces deserted him,
 which was all the advantage that could be gained
 by such a victory. The king contenting himself
 with what he had done, desisted from the pursuit,
 and waiting till his army came up, marched and
 invested Surat. In the mean time the omrahs of
 Guzerat collected themselves in the environs of
 Pattan, and held a council how to proceed.
 They agreed that Husein should prosecute his
 scheme of raising disturbances in Punjab, and
 that

that Hussein Mirza, Shaw Mirza, and Shere, A. n. 1573. H. g. 981. should invest Pattan. They expected by these means to draw the king from the siege of Surat.

Hussein having arrived at Nagore, Rai Singh Hussein defeated by Rai Singh at Nagore. governor of Jodpoor, who had pursued him, came up with him one day towards the evening, at a place where there was no water to be found, but what Hussein possessed. This made the troops of Rai Singh, who were in great distress for water, call out to attack the enemy. This favorable disposition and the necessity of the attempt, made the Indian, though much inferior to the enemy, join battle. Hussein's horse being killed, and he himself dismounted in the first charge, his army imagining that he was actually slain, gave ground. The enemy took such advantage of their confusion, that the whole efforts of Hussein were not capable to recover the disorder, and he was totally routed: he fled with great precipitation towards Delhi, and from thence to Simbol. In the mean time Hussein Mirza and the other nobles carried on the siege of Pattan, which was defended by Ahmed the Mogul. Koka coming to his relief with the army from Ahmedabad, the Patan nobles raised the siege, went out to meet him, and gave him battle, Koka had at first the disadvantage, both his wings being thrown into disorder, but his troops continuing steady in the center, he at last gained ground, and improving the advantage, put them to flight towards the Decan.

The king in the mean time made a breach in the walls of Surat, and had raised several mounts, from which he battered the city and commanded the streets. When he was preparing for a general assault, the garrison desired to capitulate. Their terms were agreed to, the city delivered up, and the king returned to Ahmedabad; he distributed all the governments of Guzerat, Akbar takes Surat. among

A. D. 1573. among the friends of Koka, his foster-brother,
 Hig. 981. and on the 2d of Ziffer, in the year 981, returned
 by the way of Ajmere to Agra.

Hussein
 flies to Pun-
 jab. The fugitive Hussein, arriving at Simbol, as
 we have already mentioned, heard that the chief
 men in Punjab under Kulli, were besieging the
 castle of Nagracot, he therefore marched into
 Punjab, which he expected to find unguarded,
 and after plundering it he had resolved to join
 his friends in Guzerat, by the way of the Indus.
 Kulli was therefore under the necessity of raising
 the siege, and marching after Hussein through all
 Punjab, without being able to come up with him,
 till he reached the environs of the city of Tatta
 upon the Indus. There Kulli attached Hussein's
 camp as he was one day out a hunting, at some
 distance from his line of march. Mirza, Hus-
 sein's brother, who commanded in his absence,
 was obliged therefore to form the line, sending
 in the mean time an express to his brother con-
 cerning his situation. But before the elder Hus-
 sein arrived, his brother was defeated and taken
 prisoner, having lost some thousands of his men
 in the engagement. Hussein returning from
 hunting met his routed army, and rallying a
 part of them, renewed the combat: he was how-
 ever repulsed with great loss, and obliged to fly
 towards Moultan.

Defeated,
 taken, and
 put to
 death in
 Moultan. In Moultan the unfortunate Hussein was again
 attacked by the Billochees, wounded, taken pri-
 soner, and delivered up to Muchfule, governor
 of Moultan, who beheaded him. Muchfule in
 conjunction with Kulli, carried his head and all
 his effects to Agra, to present them to the king.
 Akbar ordered the head to be set up above one of
 the gates of Agra, and his brother Hussein Mirza
 to be confined in the fort of Gualier, where he
 soon after died. In the first Ribbi of the same
 year, advices arrived from Koka, that Aichtiar,
 governor

governor general of Guzerat, and Hussein Mirza, A.D. 1557
Hig. 98 were joined with considerable armies, had possessed themselves of several districts in Guzerat, and had invested the Mogul governor himself in Ahmedabad.

As it was now the rainy season, and to march The king sets out for Guzerat, with great expedition a great army impracticable, with that expedition which the urgency of the situation of affairs required, the king selected two thousand horse, and sent them off before him; then with three hundred principal nobles and officers mounted upon camels, he proceeded at the rate of four stages every day*, and came up with the detachment of horse at the city of Patan in Berar, where he was joined by a thousand more. His whole force then consisted of three thousand horse, and three hundred camels. With this small army he continued his march with the same expedition to the besieged capital of Guzerat, and upon his arrival within four miles of the city, ordered the Imperial drums to beat his own march, which was the first news the enemy had of his approach. This struck the insurgents with such a panic, that it was with difficulty their officers could keep them from immediate flight. They however formed at length the line, while Hussein Mirza with a few horse went to the banks of the river to reconnoitre.

Hussein saw at some distance Kulli, who had been sent on the same business by the king. He asked him across the river, what army that was? Kulli replied, that it was the army of the king of kings. The other said, "that is impossible, for it is yet but fourteen days since one of my spies saw the king at Agra, and I perceive none of the elephants that always attend the emperor." Kulli then told him, "It is but nine days since

* Each stage is about twenty English miles.

A.D. 1573.
fig. 981. the king put his foot in the stirrup, and it is well known, elephants cannot march at that rate; but all the cavalry are come up."

Come to
battle with
them, Hussein returned immediately to his camp, and sent Achtiar with five thousand horse, to watch the gates of Ahmed-abad. He himself marched with seven thousand horse against the king. Akbar had by this time reached the banks of the river, and discovering the enemy, he drew up to receive them, expecting every moment to be joined by the troops in the city: but they were blocked up by the enemy. He then saw, that his whole dependance must rest on his own troops; to render them more desperate, by cutting off all hopes of retreat, he crossed the river, and drew up before the enemy on the plain. Hussein placing himself in the centre with his Moguls, Shaw Mirza on his right with the Afghans and Rajaputs, and Shere on his left with the Abassinians and the horse of Guzerat, advanced to the charge.

and totally
defeats the
enemy. The king having also drawn up his small army in three divisions, commanded by their several officers, he posted himself with his body guard, consisting of a hundred horse in the rear of the centre. The battle now being joined with great fury on both sides, the king with his guard wheeled round his right flank, and fell furiously on the left flank of the enemy. His troops observing their king thus exposing himself in the midst of danger, made an uncommon effort of valor and charged the enemy so warmly, that they repulsed them with great loss. Hussein who was wounded in the action, attempting to leap over a hedge with his horse, fell from his saddle, and was taken prisoner. Several persons contending about the honor of taking Hussein, the king asked him who was the man who took him?

him? Hussein replied. "Nobody: the curse of A D 1573.
ingratitude overtook me." Big 931,

When the king's forces were warin in the pur- The king in
suit, he himself remained on a rising ground, imminent
with about two hundred horse. On a sudden a danger.
great body of troops appeared moving towards him. He immediately dispatched a person to know who they were: he brought back intelligence, that they were the forces of Achtiar, who had been left to guard the gates of Ahmedabad. The troops who were with the king began to be very uneasy at their situation, and gave many intimations of their desire of retreating. But Akbar would by no means desert his post: he ordered them instantly to prepare to charge and break through the enemy; at the same time commanding the drums to beat up the royal march. The enemy hearing the drums, made no doubt but the whole army was behind the hill, and retreated with great precipitation. The king pursued them to some distance, to keep up the panic which had seized them. Whilst these things happened where the king commanded in person, Rai Singh, one of his generals, of the Indian nation, to revenge some former quarrel, basely embued his hands in the blood of Hussein, who had been left in his possession. Achtiar having also fallen from his horse in his flight, was killed by one of the king's guards, who was pursuing him with great eagerness. Koka, the besieged governor of Guzerat, finding now that the blockade was withdrawn from the gates, came out to meet the king. Akbar entered Ahmedabad the same day, and continued Koka in his government, then by the way of Ajmere, hastened towards Agra, after having performed a service, which, though glorious, reflects more honor upon his intrepidity, than upon his conduct.

A. D. 1574.
Hig. 982.

The Suba
of Bengal
rebels.

In the course of the same year, Daood the son of Soliman governor of Bengal, drew his neck from the yoke of obedience. Monim, commonly called lord of lords, governor of the provinces of Oud and Jionpoor, being nearest to the rebel, was sent against him, and brought him to a treaty after some successful engagements. The king dissatisfied with this peace, committed the management of the affairs of Bengal to an Indian prince called Jodermul, and sent him with orders to expel Daood entirely out of his government, or to oblige him to pay a certain yearly tribute, superior to the small acknowledgement which he had formerly made. Daood being threatened at the time with a civil war by one Lodi, who discovered an inclination to usurp the kingdom, consented upon Jodermul's appearance to pay the tribute demanded. He then found means to seize upon Lodi, whom he put to death. Daood relieved from that domestic danger, broke the treaty with the king, and advancing against Monim and Jodermul, engaged them at the confluence of the Sool, Gang and Sirve, where being defeated, he lost his fleet of boats and all his baggage. Monim crossed immediately the river, and laid siege to Patna.

He is over-
thrown.

The king
sets out for
Bengal.

The king informed of these transactions, set out from Agra in the middle of the rains, with as many troops as could be contained in a thousand boats: he halted a few days at Benaris, where he was joined by the forces which marched over land: he immediately embarked the whole, and fell down to Patna, and on his way he received the news of the reduction of Bicker upon the Indus, by Jesu Chan, who had been sent against that place. Akbar having arrived within a few miles of Patna, heard that Isah Neazi, one of the enemies principal generals, had marched out of the fort and fought Monim, but that he was

was defeated and lost his life, so that the place was upon the point of being evacuated. The king therefore sent one of his officers, Allum, with three thousand horse, to possess himself of the fort of Hidgepoor, on the opposite bank of the river, and to endeavour to harass the enemy in their retreat, should they be already gone, if not, to stop them. Allum accordingly took that place by assault, and made Fatte, the governor, and the garrison prisoners: Danod intimidated by this, sent a herald to the king to beg terms of accommodation:

The king returned him for answer, that he granted him his life, but that he must trust every thing else to his clemency. after making his submission; but if he should be obstinate enough to hold out some few days merely to give him trouble, he could have no reason to hope for pardon; "and though, said the king, I have a thousand in my army as good men as you, rather than fatigue my troops with a siege, I will put the whole upon the issue of a single combat between you and me, and let him take the fort who shall best deserve it." Danod did not choose to accept the challenge, nor even to put the king to farther trouble, but took boat at the water-gate that night, and fled down the river: soon after all his army evacuated the place. The next morning the king pursued them and took four hundred elephants, and the greatest part of their baggage. He then returned to Patna, conferred the government of that place and its dependencies upon his faithful servant, Monim, who had so much signalized himself in the war, then returned without pursuing his conquest farther to Agra.

Kokab the Imperial governor of Guzerat, and Jelian who commanded at Lahoré, came to pay their respects to the king, and returned afterwards.

A.D. 1575. to their respective governments. Akbar at the
 Hig. 983. same time conferred the title of the noble Muzif-
 fer upon Muziffer Ali, and appointed him to com-
 mand a force against the fort of Rhotas in Behar :
 he himself made a tour to the shrine of the saints
 at Ajmere, where having bestowed great chari-
 ties, he returned to Agra.

The war in
 Bengal, and
 the reduc-
 tion of that
 province.

In the mean time Monim; who had been left
 in the government of Patna, had orders to carry
 the war further into Bengal against Daood.
 That general having forced the pass of Killa-
 gurry, Daood fled into Orissa, whither he was
 pursued by Jodermul, with part of the king's
 army. Juneid the son of Daood defeated Joder-
 mul in two battles, which obliged Monim to
 march to his aid : both the Mogul generals hav-
 ing joined their forces, engaged Daood. Kud-
 gera, an Afghan chief of great bravery, who
 commanded Daood's vanguard, attacked the van-
 guard of Monim commanded by Allum, and de-
 feated and killed that omrah. The Afghan pur-
 sued the run-aways through the center of their
 army, which were by that time drawn up in
 order of battle. Monim observing the disorder
 hastened in person with a small body to restore
 the ranks, Kudgera attacked him in person, and
 wounded him in several places, so that he was
 obliged to quit the field, and he was soon follow-
 ed by his army. The valiant Kudgera being kil-
 led by an arrow, Monim again rallied his troops,
 and being a little recovered, led them back to
 the charge : he found Daood's army intent upon
 the plunder, and soon put them to flight, taking
 all their elephants. Jodermul being detached to
 pursue the enemy, came up with Daood on the
 banks of the Chin, which he could not cross. The
 rebel finding no means for escaping, faced about
 to defend himself. Jodermul did not choose to
 provoke him too far, and, immediately sent in-
 telligence

telligence of what had passed to Monim. That omrah, notwithstanding his wounds which were very bad, hastened to that place: Daood surrendered himself upon terms, and was permitted to retain Orissa, after which Monim returned to his government. The city of Gore, which had been the capital of Bengal till the time of the emperor Shere, who on account of the badness of the air, had made Chawasspoor Tanda, the metropolis, was now greatly decayed. Monim admiring the antiquity and grandeur of that place, gave orders to repair the palaces, and made it his residence: but he soon fell a victim to the unhealthy air of Gore and died. He was succeeded in his government by Hussein Kulli, a Murkuman noble in the Imperial service, to whom the king gave the title of lord of the world*.

The prince Soliman of Buduchshan, being expelled by his own grandson Mirza Shaw, was about this time obliged to seek protection at the court of Agra. He soon after took leave of the king, to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, after which he returned to Buduchshan, and found means to reinstate himself in his dominions. Some omrahs at court who envied the greatness of Koka, viceroy of Guzerat, accused him to the king of treasonable intentions: they so far prevailed upon him, that he recalled him from his government and confined him. Koka's readiness to comply with the Imperial order, convinced Akbar that he was no ways guilty; but that the whole proceeded from the malice of his enemies: however, the noble Ahmed of Neshapur, who had been advanced to the government of Guzerat, had sufficient interest at court to retain his office after his predecessor was acquitted.

* Chan Jehan.

Before

A. D. 1575.
 Hig. 983.
 Rebellion
 in Bengal.

Before Husein had taken possession of his government of Bengal and Behar, the Zemindars of those provinces had risen in favour of Daood, and invested Chawasspoor the capital, which they took. Daood found himself soon at the head of fifty thousand horse, and in possession of the greatest part of those countries. Kulli having assembled all the Imperial omrahs in that quarter, advanced against Daood, and that chief retreated beyond the passes, which Husein forced, and killed above a thousand of the enemy, who attempted to stop his march. The enemy on account of the narrowness of the defile, had not time to escape. Husein immediately marched towards Daood's camp, and on the 15th of Shawal 983, drew up his army in order of battle near to the enemy, who stood ready to receive him. Callapar, an omrah famous in the army of Daood for personal strength and valor, made a resolute charge upon the left of the Imperial line, and threw it into disorder; while Muziffer, who commanded the right of the Mogul army, had the same advantage over the enemy on their left; in this situation they fought in a circle, when Husein made a home charge upon the center of the enemy, which was sustained with great bravery. At length however the gale of victory blew on the Imperial standards, and the enemy were dispersed like leaves before the autumnal wind. Daood being taken prisoner, was according to the barbarous custom of war when the king was not present, put to death by the conqueror in cold blood upon the field: his son Junaid, a youth of great bravery, died in a few days of his wounds. Husein took immediate possession of all Bengal, and sent all the elephants and other spoils to the king.

Transac-
 tions before
 R'hotas.

Muziffer in the year 984, marched against Rhotas, and sent one Masoom to expel Husein,

an

an Afghan, who was hovering about with a flying party in that quarter. Masoom having engaged him, defeated him and took possession of his Pergunnahs; but Callapar in the mean time with eight thousand horse, surrounded him and thought to have obliged him to surrender. Masoom breaking down the wall of the town in which he was shut up, rushed out unexpectedly upon the enemy. In the action which ensued, Masoom's horse was killed by a stroke of the trunk of an elephant. Callapar immediately rode up and he himself was in the most imminent danger of being crushed to death, had he not wounded the elephant with an arrow in the eye, which rendered the animal so unruly, that he would obey no command: he therefore rushed back through the Afghan troops, carrying off Callapar, which made his army believe that he fled, and they quickly followed him. Callapar was soon overtaken and slain. Masoom after this victory returned and joined Muziffer who left the omrah Cumbo to blockade the fort of Rhotas, and marched against an Indian prince called Chander Sein, from whom he took the fort of Savana. From thence he directed his march against another Hindoo prince, from whom he took the fort of Keregur, situated in the woods between Behar and Bengal. The Afghans in the fort of Rhotas being destitute of provisions, were prevailed upon by promises and a favorable capitulation to give up the place: Cumbo left Rhotas under the command of his brother, and went himself to court.

The king this year made a progress towards Ajmere, and sent Cumbo mentioned above, against Comilmere, a strong fortress in the possession of the Rana; he took the place, and in the mean time the king made a tour towards the borders of the Decan: Murtaza prince of Ahmednagur,

A. D. 1576
H. 2984

The king
makes a
progress
through
his domi-
nions.

A. D. 1579. nagur, was at that time become melancholy mad,
 Hig. 987. and was confined to his apartments: Akbar
 thought this a proper opportunity to seize upon
 that country; but he was diverted from his pur-
 pose by some domestic affairs which occurred at
 that time, and he returned towards Agra by the
 way of Ajmere, where he appointed Muziffer to
 the high office of the Vizarit. From Ajmere the
 emperor marched to Delhi, and from thence he
 took the rout of Cabul. When he was upon his
 way, a comet of an extraordinary magnitude ap-
 peared in the west. The king having reached
 Adjodin, visited the tomb of the famous poet and
 philosopher Ferid, and quitting his resolution of
 going to Cabul, returned to Agra.

Distur-
 bances in
 Bengal.

The great mosque in the city of Victory, lately
 built by Akbar, was finished in the year 986.
 The prince of Chandez in the Decan, in the same
 year, imprisoned Muziffer Hussein by the king's
 commands, and sent him to Agra. In the
 course of the same year Hussein, Governor of
 Bengal died. In 987 a great fire happened in
 the city of Victory in the wardrobe, which con-
 sumed effects to a prodigious amount. After
 the death of Hussein, the Afghans began to re-
 cover in Bengal their former strength, and to
 raise disturbances. To suppress their insurrec-
 tions the king sent his foster-brother Koka, late
 governor of Guzerat, with a considerable army
 to that kingdom.

The king's
 brother be-
 sieges La-
 hore.

The prince Hakim the king's brother, took the
 opportunity of these troubles to make an at-
 tempt upon Lahore. He sent Shadiman his
 foster-brother with a thousand horse, by way of
 advanced guard before him. This officer cross-
 ing the Nilab, one of the branches of the Indus,
 was attacked by Man Singh, an omrah of Pun-
 jab, and routed. When Hakim had reached
 Rhotas

Rhotas, a fortress built by the emperor Shere in Punjab, Man Singh retreated to Lahore, whither he was pursued by the prince. He arrived before that city upon the 11th of Mohirrim, in the year 989, and invested it. The place was gallantly defended by Seid Chan, and other nobles, till the king marched from Agra to their relief. Upon the approach of the royal standard, Hakim retreated to Cabul: the king pursuing him to Sirhind. Intelligence was brought to him at that place, that Munsoor Shirazi one of his omrahs had been carrying on a correspondence with the enemy, for which he ordered him to be impaled.

A D 1581
Hig. 989.
Akbar
forces him
to raise the
siege

Pursues him
to Cabul.

The king having crossed the Nilab, continued his march towards Cabul, and detached his son Murad in front with the vanguard: his son Selim he left at Jellalabad. When Murad had reached Shuttergurdan, within thirty miles of Cabul, Feredoon, a general of Hakim, attacked him in a pass, and having repulsed the prince, seized upon all his baggage. Hakim, upon the 2d of Siffer 989, drew up his army before the king in order of battle. The elephants which were with the prince Murad being ordered to advance, fired the small field pieces that were mounted upon them, and by mere accident three of the chiefs who stood by Hakim were killed: that pusillanimous prince immediately left the field, and was pursued with great slaughter. The king, without farther opposition, entered Cabul upon the 7th of Siffer, and Hakim fled to Ghorebund: he from thence sent an embassy to the king, begging forgiveness, which was granted him. The king having resigned his conquest of Cabul to Hakim, on the 14th of Siffer, returned towards Agra. He on his way ordered a fort to be built upon the Nilab, which he called Attock, which means in the Indian language Forbidden; for by the superstition of the Hindoos, it

Totally
overthrows
him.

A. D. 1581. it was held unlawful to cross that river. The
 Hig. 989. king having arrived at Lahore upon the 19th of
 Ramzan, gave the government of that province
 to the Indian chief Baguandas, and in a few days
 set out for Agra.

The king
 reinforces
 his army in
 Bengal

Rebellion
 in Guzerat.

The troubles in Bengal still continuing, the
 king sent the omrah Cumbo, with a considera-
 ble force to reinforce his army in those parts. In
 the year 991 he made a progress to Priag,
 where he ordered the fort of Allahabad to be
 built at the confluence of the Jumma and Ganges.
 Muziffer, king of Guzerat, who had been kept
 a prisoner at large since the reduction of his king-
 dom, began now to exhibit great loyalty and af-
 fection for the king. Akbar upon this account
 rewarded him with a large estate, and he be-
 came a great favorite at court. But indulgences
 of this sort could not gratify the ambition of
 the conquered king: he made his escape to Gu-
 zerat, while Akbar was at Allahabad, and by
 the assistance of his former adherent, Shere,
 stirred up a rebellion in that kingdom. The
 king, upon the first intelligence of this insur-
 rection, sent the noble Actemad in quality of
 governor to Guzerat, and recalled Ahmed, who
 was suspected of favouring Muziffer. After the
 arrival of the new governor, Ahmed came out
 of Ahmedabad, and halted some days at Pattan
 to prepare for his journey, during which time a
 great part of his army deserted to Muziffer. This
 enabled that prince to march towards Ahmed-
 abad, the capital.

Actemad, the governor, left an officer and
 part of his troops to defend the city, and with
 the rest marched out to Pattan, where Ahmed,
 the former governor, was encamped. Muziffer in
 the meantime, with very little opposition, possessed
 himself of the capital. The new governor then
 prevailed

prevailed upon Ahmed to accompany him, and marched back to retake the place. Muziffer who came out to battle, defeated the two governors, and drove them back to Pattan. Akemad sent an express from Pattan, to acquaint the king of his misfortune.

Akbar being informed of the untoward situation of affairs in Guzerat, dispatched Rustum, commonly called Mirza Chan, the son of the great minister Byram, together with the omrahs of Ajinere, to restore the tranquillity of that province; but before Mirza had reached Guzerat, king Muziffer had reduced the fort of Biruderra, which was defended by Cuttub, who held Berroche in Jagier from Akbar, and had there taken fourteen lacks of rupees belonging to the king, and ten crores of rupees of the property of the governor, who lost his life on the occasion. This immense acquisition of treasure enabled him to recruit a great army at Ahmedabad, whither Mirza marched to attack him with eight thousand horse. Mirza having arrived at the village of Sirgunge, within six miles of the city, Muziffer, on the 15th of Mohirrim 992, marched out to meet him with thirty thousand horse, and drew up in his presence. The Imperial general no ways intimidated by the enemy's numbers, encouraged his men, charged the enemy vigorously sword in hand, defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them quite through the city. Being soon after joined by the Mogul omrahs of Malava with a considerable force, he marched after Muziffer towards Combait, and drove him among the mountains of Nadout. Muziffer faced about to oppose the Moguls in a narrow defile, but he was driven from his post by the artillery of Mirza, and fled towards Jionagur, taking refuge with Jami; an Indian prince in those parts.

Mirza, the son of the famous Byram, sent into Guzerat

Mirza

A.D. 1584.
Hig. 992.
Guzerat reduced.

Mirza thinking it unnecessary to pursue Muziffer further, returned to Ahmed-abad, and sent Callehi to besiege the fort of Beroche, which he took from Nasir, the brother-in-law of Muziffer. Nasir held out the place seven months, and at last made his escape to the Decan. Muziffer soon after, by the aid of Jami, and the suba of Jionagur, advanced to a place called Mabi within one hundred and twenty miles of Ahmed-abad. Mirza marching out to oppose him, he was struck with a sudden panic, and made a precipitate retreat: but strengthened by new alliances, he made a third attempt to recover his dominions, and engaging the Mogul army at Siranti, he was defeated and obliged to take refuge with Singh, the Indian prince of Jalla.

Transac-
tions at
court.

Mirza five months after this last victory over Muziffer, was recalled to court; but as the fugitive king began to raise his head again in his absence, the king conferred the titles of first of the nobles upon Mirza, and ordered him back to Guzerat. This year Nizam, the son of Hussein fled from his brother Mortiza, king of the Decan, and came to the court of Agra, where he was graciously received; and not long after Alla Shirazi, the most eminent man of that age for learning, came also from the Decan, and had an honourable office near the king's person conferred upon him.

The king's
designs upon
the Decan.

In the ensuing year Murtiza, and Choclawind, omrahs of the Decan, being defeated by one Sullabit in a civil broil, took refuge at Agra; and as the king had a long time entertained thoughts of conquering the Decan, he sent them to Koka, who then possessed the government of Malava. He ordered that omrah to raise all the forces of Malava, and of the adjacent territories, and carry war into the Decan:
and

and having conferred the title of Azid ul Dowla upon Alla Shirazi, sent him to assist Koka in that expedition. as he was thoroughly acquainted with the different interests and policy of that country. A. D. 1585.
H. g. 992.

Koka having, according to orders, recruited a great army, marched to the borders of his government, and found that Ali, the prince of Chandez, was inclinable to join the king of the Decan. He immediately dispatched Alla to endeavour to bring him over to the Mogul interest; but that omrah returned without accomplishing any thing. The omrahs Tucki and Bezad, in conjunction with the prince of Chandez, by the orders of the king of the Decan marched against Koka, who was encamped in the province of Hindia. Koka however did not think it proper to engage them in that place, but giving them the slip, he entered the Decan, by another route, and advancing to Elichpoor, plundered that city for the space of three days. The general, of the Decan, and their ally the prince of Chandez, in the mean time returned and threw themselves into the suburbs of Elichpoor, which obliged Koka, rather than risque a battle, to evacuate the Decan. Koka advances with an army towards the Decan.

While these things transacted in the Decan orders were sent to Mirza, the son of Byram, commonly called the first of the nobles, governor of Guzerat, to come to court. He forthwith obeyed, and the fugitive king Muziffer, taking advantage of his absence, advanced towards Darul, the deputy governor of the country, but he was again defeated. Disturbances in Guzerat quelled.

The prince Sharoh, grand-son of Soliman, sovereign of Buduchshan, being expelled from his dominions by Abdulla, the Usbeck, came this year to court, and ranked himself among the king's omrahs; at the marriage of the daughter Transactions at court.

A. D. 1585. ter of the Indian prince Baguandafs to Selim,
 Hig. 993. the emperor's eldest son, in the year 994, the
 king kept a great festival on the Norose*, and a
 few months after Hakim, the king's brother,
 who reigned in Cabul, died. Akbar having ap-
 pointed Mirza a second time governor of Guze-
 rat, and Alla, high-priest of that country, set
 out for Punjab. On his way he appointed Sadei
 to the government of Bicker, and Man Singh
 the son of Baguandafs, was sent to Cabul. That
 omrah brought the children of Hakim, who
 were very young, to Lahore, and left his own
 son invested with the chief authority at Ca-
 bul.

The king
 sends an ar-
 my to re-
 duce Cash-
 mire.

The king having arrived at the fortress of
 Attock upon the Nilâb, he detached the prince
 Sharoch, and other omrahs, with five thousand
 horse to reduce the kingdom of Cashmire. He
 at the same time dispatched Zein Koka, with
 another considerable detachment against the
 Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar. A few days after
 he sent a detachment to reduce the Afghans
 of Roshnai, who were idolaters of the Zendeika
 sect, and followers of an Indian fanatic, who
 called himself Pier Roshnai. The impostor had
 converted to his system of religion great num-
 bers of the inhabitants of those countries who
 after his death adhered to his son, and taking
 up arms, raised great disturbances in Punjab
 and Moultan. The king being fully informed of
 the strength of the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar,
 sent a reinforcement to Zein Koka. But that
 omrah was notwithstanding defeated, and many
 persons of distinction, with eight thousand men,
 were killed in the action.

* The day upon which the sun enters Aries.

Man Singh, who had been detached against the Roshnai-Afghans, met with better success; he defeated them at Kotil with great slaughter. The king returning from Attock to Lahore, ordered Man Singh to proceed to Cabul, and take upon him the government of that kingdom, and at the same time to chastize the Afghans. The daughter of that omrah was also married this year to the prince royal Selim.

The army which had been detached to Cashmire, being reduced to great distress by the snow and rain, as also by a scarcity of provisions, were under the necessity of making a peace with the Cashmirians. The conditions were a tribute of sarrun in Akbar, and the regulation of the mint, the coin being struck in his name: but the king dissatisfied with this peace, sent Mahomed Casim, with another army to reduce that kingdom entirely to his obedience. This was generally accomplished, on account of civil dissensions then raging among the chiefs of that country. The prince Soliman, the grandfather of the fugitive Sharoh, came this year from Cabul, and had an interview with the king. The ambassador of the king of Tartary, who came to court while Akbar was at Attock, was much about the same time dispatched with great presents to his master. In the year 996, Jellal an Afghian began to become formidable; having defeated and killed Hamid Bochari, and driven Man Singh from his government of Cabul. The king therefore sent Muttalib with an army against him, who gave him a signal defeat near Kotil, and cut off great numbers of the rebels.

The prince Chufero the son of the emperor's eldest son Selim, was born this year of the daughter of Baguandass, and the king made a great festival upon the occasion. Sadoc, governor of Bicker,

A. D. 1586.
Hig. 994.

Man Singh
defeats the
Roshnai-
Afghans.

The army
in Cashmire
in distress.

Chufero
born to Sul-
tan Selim.

A. D. 1587.
Hig. 995. Bicker, according to the orders he received from court, invested the fort of Sewan upon the Indus, and obliged the prince of Tatta, to acknowledge the king's authority, and to send him great presents and letters of homage. Sadoc was soon after ordered back to Bicker. In the month of the second Ribbi, Zein Koka was appointed to the government of Cabul, and the former governor recalled to Lahore. At the same time Mirza, the son of Byram was ordered from Guzerat; as also Sadoc from Bicker, for it was a maxim with Akbar, to change the governors of the provinces every three years, to prevent their acquiring too much influence in the countries under their command, and to show the people that the royal authority prevailed through all departments of the empire. Singh was immediately appointed to the government of Behar, and the viceroyship of Cashmire was conferred upon the noble Muschiddi, Casim the former governor being called to court; Sadoc was in the mean time sent against the Afghans of Sawad and Bejoar; and Ismaiel who was in that country, recalled and sent to Guzerat.

The king
goes to
Cashmire,

In the year 997, upon the 23d of the second Jemmad, the king set out on a tour to Cashmire, being captivated with the praises which he had heard of the beauty of that country, from every person who had seen it. When he reached Bimber, at the entrance of the mountains, he left his army and family behind, and with a small retinue, set out to Serina the capital of that kingdom. The learned Alla Shirazi who accompanied him died there, and the king was greatly afflicted for his death, having a particular affection for that omrah, on account of his genius and literary merit.

and to Ca-
bul.

The king having gratified his fancy with a sight of all the beauty of Cashmire, resolved to proceed
to

to Cabul. On the way Hakim Gilani, a man famous for learning, and one of the king's companions died, and was buried at Hassen. Akbar having arrived at Attock, detached Cumbo to drive away the Afghans of Eusoph Zei, who infested the roads, and then proceeded, march by march, to Cabul. To that city Hakim and Jehan; who had been sent on an embassy to Abdulla, king of the Usbecks of Maver ul Nere, were just returned with an ambassador on the part of that monarch. The king having remained two months at Cabul viewing the gardens of pleasure, and distributing justice and charity among the inhabitants, conferred the government upon Mahommed Casim, and on the 20th of Mohirrim 998, returned to Lahore. At Lahore he conferred the government of Guzerat upon Koka, and ordered him from Malava to proceed thither, while the former governor of Guzerat, Ahmed, succeeded him in his presidency.

Koka having arrived at Guzerat, led an army against Jâmi, a Zemindar of great power in that province, who in alliance with Dowlat, the son of Aini prince of Jionagur in the Decan, came out to meet him with twenty thousand horse. A sharp engagement ensued: Russi, Hussein, and Sherri, omrahs of distinction in the empire, were killed on the Mogul side, and a great number of men, while the enemy lost the eldest son of Jami, and that prince's vizier, with four thousand Rajaputs on the field of battle. Victory declared for the Moguls, and many more Rajaputs fell in their flight.

Abdulla the Usbeck, king of the western Tary, having about this time taken Buduchshan, and infested the borders of Cabul, Akbar resolved to take up his residence for some time in Lahore, fearing an irruption of Usbecks from the north.

A. D. 1588. Hig. 996. Jani governor of Sind, notwithstanding the king's vicinity, and his orders to him to repair to court, continued refractory, and prepared for war. Akbar dispatched Mirza the son of Byram with many omrahs of distinction, and a well appointed army against him.

Affairs of
Malava.

In the year 999, Ahmed the governor died at Malava, and was succeeded by the king's appointment by the emperor's son Murâd, under the tuition of Ishmaiel Kulli. When the prince arrived upon the confines of Gualila, he heard that a Zemindar of power in those parts, disturbed the peace of the country. He immediately marched against him: the enemy opposed him with resolution, but at last he obtained the victory, and drove the rebel to the woods, where he died in a few days of his wounds. The Zemindar's son submitted himself, and after paying a proper fine, was confirmed in his paternal territories. The prince marched from thence, and soon after arrived at Malava.

The king
sends em-
bassies to
the four
states of
the Decan.

The king in the mean time sent four ambassadors to the four princes of the Decan. Feizi, the brother of the learned Abul Fazil, to Asere and Burhanpoor; Amin to Ahmednagar; Mahadi to Bejapoor, and Musaood to Bagnagur; principally with a design to be informed of the state of those countries, upon which he had fixed an eye of conquest. Koka governor of Guzerat, who had orders to seize every opportunity of enlarging his province, hearing that Dowlat prince of Jionagur was dead, marched his army to reduce that country, and after a siege of seven months, made himself master of the capital and all its dependencies.

Mirza be-
sieves the
fort of Su-
van.

In the course of the same year Mirza laid siege to the fort of Suvan, on the banks of the Indus. Jani with a numerous army, and a great train of artillery in boats, advanced against him, and having

having arrived within fourteen miles of the place, A. D. 1591. H. 1000. he sent a hundred boats full of armed men, and forty larger ones mounted with swivels, to annoy the besiegers from the river: but Mirza having armed twenty-five boats, sent them against this fleet in the night, and having killed about two hundred of the enemy, put the rest to flight. Jani after this defeat, with his whole fleet, advanced to the place, and in the mouth of Mohirrim in the year 1000, landed on a spot of ground, which was surrounded with a muddy channel, in which part of the river ran when high. Here he maintained his post against all the attempts of Mirza, and keeping his communication open by water, was well supplied, while he took such methods to prevent provisions from coming to the Moguls, that a great dearth soon ensued in their camp.

Mirza reduced to this perilous situation, found The Moguls in distress. himself obliged to leave a part of his army before the place, and to march towards Tatta with the rest. Soon after his departure, Jani attacked the detachment which was left to carry on the siege; but they defended themselves till Dowlat a noble of the imperial family of Lodi, joined them from the main army, which was by that time at the distance of one hundred and sixty miles, with a considerable reinforcement. So expeditious was Lodi upon this occasion, that he marched one hundred and sixty miles in two days. Jani was then obliged to retreat to a strong post, and throw up lines for his further security. Mirza in the mean time returned, and shut him up on one side, while Dowlat Lodi in a manner blockaded him on the other. He was therefore reduced in turn to the extremity of eating his cavalry and beasts of burthen, for want of provisions. This distress obliged Jani to sue for peace, and having given his daughter in

A. D. 1591, marriage to Eric Murza's eldest son, he prepared
 Hig. 1000. to set out for court to make his submission to the
 king in person, as soon as the rains should be
 over.

Rebellion
 in Cash-
 mire.

Eusoph Chan, governor general of the kingdom of Cashmire, had about this time by the king's orders, left his brother Edgar at Cashmire, and presented himself at court. Edgar in the mean time married the daughter of one of the old royal family of Cashmire, and by the advice of the chiefs of that country, exalted the standard of rebellion, and read the Chutba in his own name. To support him in his usurpation, he raised a great army; and Cafi collector general of the imperial revenues in Cashmire, Hüssein and Omri, who were inferior collectors of the revenues on the part of the king, levied what troops they could upon this occasion, and gave the rebels battle: but Cafi was slain, and the rest of the Mogul officers driven out of Cashmire.

Which is
 quelled.

The king receiving advices of this rebellion, nominated Ferid to carry on the war in those parts. That general forthwith marched with a considerable army towards Cashmire. Edgar, as the Mogul advanced, came out to meet him, but upon the night before the expected engagement, Edgar was treacherously attacked by Sharoch and Ibrahim, two of his own chiefs, and flying naked out of his tent was murdered, and his head sent to Ferid. The rebel army was dispersed, and Cashmire reduced without further trouble. The king soon after made a second tour to that delightful country, where he spent forty days in rural amusements. He conferred the government of Cashmire upon the noble Eusoph, and turning towards Rhotas, he was met in that place in the year 1001, by Jani and Mirza the son of Byram, from Tatta. Mirza
 was

was immediately ranked with the Sihazaris or Omrahs of three thousand, which was at that time a high dignity, and his government upon the Indus, reduced to the form of a province of the empire.

Koka was this year obliged to take the field against a powerful chief of Guzerat, who gave protection to the unfortunate king Muziffer. He obliged the chief to deliver Muziffer up; and that unhappy prince, wearied out with adversity, put an end to his own life with a razor, as they were carrying him prisoner to the capital of Guzerat.

A. D 1591.
11g 1001.
Muziffer
of Guzerat
kills him-
self.

Man Singh led in the course of this year, the troops in Bengal against Cullulu the Afghan, who created disturbances in that quarter, and defeating him, reduced all the provinces of Orissa, and sent one hundred and twenty elephants which he had taken to the king.

Orissa re-
duced

Koka being called to court to give some account of his administration in Guzerat, did not chuse to risque the enquiry, but putting his family and wealth on board some ships, sailed for Mecca. The king having received advices of his departure, ordered his son the prince Murad from Malava to that government, and appointed Sadoc absolute manager of public affairs under him. Sharooh the grandson of Soliman, prince of Buduchshan, was in the mean time appointed to the government of Malava, in the prince's place, and he released Cumbo, who had lain six years in prison, and appointed him to a principal department under him. Sometime before this period, the enthusiastic sect of Roshnai-Afghans had again begun to raise disturbances about Kotil, but they were defeated by Jaffer Kishvini, who had been lately honored with the title of the noble Afaph, and their chief Jellali, and his brothers, taken and sent prisoners to court.

Prince Mu-
rad appoint-
ed to the
government
of Guze-
rat.

The

A. D. 1593.
Hig. 1002.

The king
makes war
upon the
princes of
the Decan.

The ambassadors which the king had dispatched to the Decan, having about this time returned, brought advices that their propofals were rejected with contempt by the princes of that country. The king therefore resolved to reduce them to obediēce, and for that purpose ordered his son, the prince Danial, in the year 1002, with a great army towards the Decan : but before Danial had reached Sultanpoor, the king changed his mind and recalled him, giving the command of the same army to Mirza, the son of Byram, known under the honourable title of first of the nobles, and ordered him to continue his march. The prince Rustum, sovereign of Kandahar, of the posterity of Timur, being driven this year to difficulties by his own brothers and the Usbecks, came to court and presented the king with the fort of Kandahar, for which he had the government of Moultan conferred upon him, and was ranked among the nobles of the empire.

The Mo-
gul army
enters that
country.

The noble Mirza, in the mean time, having arrived at Mindu, Burhan sent Anact Chan with professions of entire submission, but falling sick at the same time; he died in the year 1003. His son Ibrahim who succeeded him in the kingdom of Berar, was killed soon after in battle against a partizan, who had rebelled against him in his dominions. Munju, his vizier, set up Ahmed, a young child of the family of the Nizam, upon the throne : but the omrahs dissented from this measure, rebelled against him, and besieged Munju in Ahmednagar. The vizier finding himself driven to distress, sent a person to Ahmedabad the capital of Guzerat, with an embassy to the prince Murad, inviting him to come to his assistance, and he would put him in possession of the fort. Murad, having at that time received orders from his father to march into the Decan, with the army from Guzerat, gladly

gladly embraced this proposal, and set out with great expedition. When Mirza, the son of Byram, who had been lying all this time idle at Mindu, heard of the prince's march, he began to bestir himself, and with his own army and those of the prince Sharoch, governor of Malava, Cumbo, the Indian prince Jaggernot, the Hindoos, Durga, Ram Chund, and others, marched towards the Decan, and on his way induced Ali prince of Chandez, to join him with six thousand horse. He soon after joined his force with that of prince Murad on the borders of the Decan, and this numerous army, march by march, continued its rout to the capital.

Munju had by this time quelled the rebellion, and repented of his having called the prince: he therefore laid in a store of provisions in the place, and committed it to the government of Bibi, the daughter of Hussein the Nizam of the country, with a strong garrison, and retreated himself with the remainder of his army and a large train of artillery, towards the borders of Berar. Prince Murad and Mirza laid siege to Ahmednagar in the month of the second Ribbi 1004: they employed themselves in carrying on approaches, raising mounts, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Bibi defended the place with a manly resolution, and wrote to Adil the prince of Berar for assistance. At the end of three months, the besieged had carried five mines under the wall and bastions: the besiegers destroyed two of the mines by counter-mines, and continued to search for the others. The prince upon the first of Regib, having prepared for the assault, set fire to the trains, upon which the three charged mines taking effect, blew up fifty yards of the wall: but when the Moguls waited in expectation of blowing up two mines, the besieged recovered from their surprize, and defended

Ahmednagar besieged by the Moguls

A. D. 1595.
Hig. 1004. fended the breach with great bravery. The valiant female leader appeared veiled, at their head, and gave orders with such prudence and spirit, that the assailants were beat off in their repeated attempts: the heroine stood all night by the workmen, and the breach was filled up before day, with wood, stones, earth, and dead bodies.

The Mogul came to a treaty with the besieged.

In the mean time it was rumoured abroad that the chief eunuch of Adil prince of Berar, was upon his march in conjunction with the forces of Nizam, with an army of seventy thousand horse, to raise the siege: there being at the same time a scarcity of provisions in the Mogul camp, the prince and Mirza thought it adviseable to enter into treaty with the besieged. It was stipulated by Bibi, that the prince should keep possession of Berar, and that Ahmednagur, and its dependencies, should remain with her in the name of Bahader, the grandson of Burhan. These terms being ratified, the prince and Mirza marched towards Berar, and repairing the town of Shapoor, near Battapoor, took up their cantonments in that place. The prince espoused here with great magnificence, the daughter of Bahader, the son of Ali, prince of Chandez, and divided the province of Berar among his omrahs. Cumbo being about this time disgusted with some indignities offered him by the prince, left Murad with all his forces, and marched without leave to Malava.

The troops of Ahmednagur invade Berar.

Bibi having resigned her command to Bahader, the grandson of Burhan, Abeck an Abyssinian, and other chiefs, took up the reins of government, which he was too weak to hold with steadiness, and contrary to the advice of Bibi, marched with fifty thousand horse towards Berar, to expel the prince Murad. Mirza leaving the prince and Sadoc in Shapoor, marched with
twenty

wenty thousand horse to oppose the enemy on the banks of a river in that country, called the Gang. Having slept for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, he forded the river and drew up on the opposite bank, on the 17th of the second Jemniad 1005. The eunuch who commanded the succours sent by the prince of Berar, taking the chief command, drew up before the Moguls, the troops of Nizam on the right, those of Cuttub on the left, and his own in the center. He then advanced, carrying in his face the insolence of his own prowess, mixed with a contempt for the enemy.

The noble Mirza posted himself in the center to receive him: Ali prince of Chandez, and the Indian prince Ram Chund being at the head of a body of volunteers in his front, to begin the attack. The charge was made with such intrepidity on the side of the Moguls, that they broke through the select volunteers of the enemy, and fell upon the eunuch, where he commanded in person. They were however repulsed by a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms and rockets, which did great execution particularly among the Rajaputs and the troops of Chandez, who advanced under their sovereign Ali and the Indian prince. Both those chiefs were killed, with above three thousand of their horse. The center being broke, the Usbeeks and Moguls on the left wing gave way also, and the eunuch remained master of the field on that side: but the noble Mirza, who had shifted his post to the right during the action, had made an impression there, and was pursuing the enemy, without knowing what had happened on the left. Night in the mean time coming on, and the enemy equally ignorant

A. D. 1596.
H. 2. 1005.

A d awa
battle.

A. D. 1596.
Hig. 1605.

ignorant of what had happened on his left, thought he had gained a complete victory: he however contented himself, as it was now dark, with keeping possession of the field, and permitting his troops to plunder the baggage. To secure their plunder, half of his army deserted to lodge their spoils in places of security, and the valiant eunuch, with the remainder, sat in the dark, without knowing whither to proceed.

Mirza, in the mean time, returning from the pursuit, fell in with the enemy's artillery, within a small distance of their general, and thinking the enemy entirely routed, determined to remain there till morning with the few that continued with him, for by far the greater part of his army thinking themselves defeated, had fled full speed to the capital of Berar. While things were in this perplexing situation, the eunuch's troops began to light up fires and flambeaus where they stood, having heard that the noble Mirza was near. The Mogul general being informed also, by his spies, that the enemy was in his neighbourhood, he ordered some pieces of artillery to be loaded and fired among them, which threw them into great confusion. Joheil immediately ordered all the fires to be extinguished, and shifting his ground, sent scouts all round to collect such of his troops as were dispersed over the plain and in the adjacent villages.

In the mean time Mirza blew his trumpets and beat to arms, according to his manner, which being heard by such of his troops as were dispersed over the field, they hastened towards him in small detachments. Several of the Moguls meeting with others of the enemy in the dark, they fought and formed such a scene of horror and confusion, as is not easy to be described; while Allah! Allah! resounded from all sides,

sides, and every eye was fixed upon the east, in expectation of the dawn. When the day appeared, Joheil was seen marching towards the Moguls, with twelve thousand horse. Though the army of Mirza did not exceed four thousand, he determined once more to dispute the field, and formed his line to oppose the enemy. The battle now joined with redoubled fury on both sides, but Joheil, after exhibiting the most daring acts of valour, sunk at last under fatigue and wounds, and fell from his horse. A body of his dependants bore him instantly off: his army according to custom followed him, and left Mirza master of a bloody field. The Mogul, in no condition to pursue the run-a-ways, returned to Shapoor, to join the prince, Murad, and the rest of his army.

The emperor, having about this time received advice of the death of Abdulla, the Usbeck, king of the western Tartary, who had long threatened an invasion from the north, returned in security from Lahore to Agra. Having in that city heard of the noble Mirza's victory, he sent him an honorary dress and a fine horse, as marks of his particular favour. As private animosities had long subsisted between the prince Murad and Mirza, which being much inflamed by the intrigues of Sadoc, now rose to a dangerous height; the king therefore thought it imprudent to leave them longer together: he dispatched Eusoph Mughaddi and Abul Fazil * to the prince, and in the year 1006, recalled Mirza to the presence. But though the whole misun-

The king
returns
from La-
hore.

* The celebrated historian.

A.D. 1596. derstanding had plainly sprung from the prince's
 Hig. 1005. froward and jealous disposition, the king's re-
 sentment fell upon that great man, and he re-
 mained a long time in disgrace.

Prince Mu-
 rad dies.

Eusoph, and Abul Fazil, in a short time re-
 duced the forts of Narnalla, Kavile, Kerlah, and
 others, in the province of Berar; but the prince
 Murad falling sick, died in the month of Sha-
 wal 1007, and was first buried in the capital of
 Berar, but by the king's orders the body was
 afterwards removed to Agra, and laid by the
 side of his grandfather Humaioon. The king's
 grief for the death of his son, instead of extin-
 guishing his desire of conquering the Decan,
 only enflamed it the more, to divert his mind
 from sorrow. In the mean time the omrahs
 of Nizam having gained some slight advantages,
 defeated Shere one of the king's omrahs, who
 possessed the country of Bere, and besieged him
 in his fort. Eusoph and Abul Fazil were so
 much inferior to the enemy in number,
 that they durst not venture upon an engage-
 ment.

Mirza sent
 against the
 Decan.

The king, alarmed at this disaster, restored
 the noble Mirza to favour, and required his
 daughter, the beautiful Jana, for his son Danial
 in marriage. He then dispatched him with
 that prince, and a well appointed army, to car-
 ry on the war in the Decan, and moved the Im-
 perial standard that way in the 1008 of the Hi-
 gera, leaving his dominions in the east under the
 charge of the prince royal, the illustrious Selim.
 In the mean time the prince Danial and Mirza
 entered the Decan, and as Bahader, the son of
 Ali, prince of Chander, was not found like his
 father, firm to his allegiance, and had shut him-
 self up in Afere, they halted upon the banks of
 the

the Gang, near Pattan, and endeavoured to persuade him over to their interest. In the mean time the king had reached Mindu, and dispatched orders to them to proceed to Ahmednagar the capital, and invest it: for that he himself would take up Asere in his way. A. D. 1598.
Hiz. 1007,

This prince and the noble Mirza accordingly marched with about thirty thousand horse towards Ahmednagar. Abin Buchsi and other omrahs of the Decan, fled from that city, and left the Moguls to invest the place. The king first endeavoured to bring over Bahader by fair means, but he would not listen to terms. Akbar therefore marched to Burhanpoor, and sent his omrahs to besiege Asere, which lay only six miles from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air in the place on account of the number of troops which were cooped up in it, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence which swepted the Hindoos off in great numbers. Bahader, though he had still troops sufficient for the defence of the place, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores, and provisions in abundance, permitted despair to stain the current of his mind. Invests Ah-
mednagar.

The siege of Ahmednagar was in the mean time carried on with great vigour, by Mirza and the prince. The city was at length carried by a stratagem, executed by Hussein. This we shall have occasion to relate minutely in the history of the Decan. Ahmednagar was taken in the beginning of the year 1009: the strong fortress of Asere, some months after, was surrendered to the king: an immense treasure which had been accumulated there, for many ages, fell into Akbar's hands, with all the wealth of Ahmednagar. Ahmedna-
gur taken.

A.D. 1600. nagur. Ibrahim, king of Bijanagur, one of the
 Hig. 1009. four principalities of the Decan, having solicited
 peace and paid homage, reconciled Akbar, who
 demanded Adil's daughter in marriage for his
 son Danial. A Mogul noble, named Hufflein,
 was accordingly dispatched to bring the bride
 and a fine from Bijanagur. The king reduced
 Afere, Birhanpoor, Ahmednagur, and Berar,
 into the form of a province, and confer-
 red the government upon Danial, under the
 tuition and direction of his father-in-law, Mir-
 za. The king, after these transactions, return-
 ed in triumph to the city of Agra, and
 in the year 1011, annexed his acquisitions in
 the Decan to his other royal titles in a procla-
 mation.

Death of
 the histori-
 an Abul
 Fazil.

Akbar having in the course of the year 1011,
 recalled the great historian, Abul Fazil from the
 Decan, that learned man was unfortunately at-
 tacked near Narwar, by a body of banditti of
 Orcha Rajaputs, who cut him off with a
 part of his retinue, merely to rob him of his
 wealth, and not at the instigation of prince
 Danial, as has been maliciously and falsely re-
 ported by some writers. In the 1013 of the
 Higera, Hufflein who had been dispatched to
 Bijanagur, returned with the royal bride,
 and the stipulated tribute. He delivered the
 young sultana to Danial, upon the banks of
 the Gang near Pattan, where the nuptials
 were celebrated with great pomp and magnifi-
 cence. Hufflein the embassador, after the cere-
 mony was over, proceeded to the king at
 Agra.

Akbar dies.

Upon the first of Zehidge of the year 1013,
 the prince Danial died of a debauch in the city
 of

of Burhanpoor, in the Decan. His death and the manner of it so much affected the king, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till upon the 13th of the second Jemmad in the year 1014, he left that world, through which he had moved with so much lustre, after having reigned fifty-one years, and some months. Mahommed Akbar was a prince endued with many shining virtues. His generosity was great, and his clemency without bounds: this latter virtue he often carried beyond the line of prudence, and in many instances past the limits of that justice which he owed to the state; but his daring spirit made this noble error seem to proceed from a generous disposition, and not from an effeminate weakness of mind. His character as a warrior was rather that of an intrepid partizan, than of a great general: he exposed his person with unpardonable rashness, and often attempted capital points without using that power which at the time he possessed.—But fortune and a daring soul supplied the place of conduct in Akbar: he brought about at once by desperate means, what calm caution would take much time to accomplish. This circumstance spread the terror of the name of this son of true glory so wide, that Hindostan, ever subject to the convulsions of rebellion, became settled and calm in his presence. He raised a wall of disciplined valor † against the powers of the north, and by his own activity inspired his omrahs with enterprize.

A. D. 1605.
Hig. 1014.

His character.

† Soldiers.

He loved glory to excess, and thirsted after a reputation for personal valor: he encouraged learning with the bounty of kings, and delighted in history, which is in truth the school of sovereigns. As his warm and active disposition prompted him to perform actions worthy of the divine pen of the poet, so he was particularly fond of heroic compositions in verse.—In short, the faults of Akbar were virtues carried to extremes; and if he sometimes did things beneath the dignity of a great king, he never did any thing unworthy of a good man. His name lives, and will for ever live, the glory of the house of Timur, and an example of renown to the kings of the world.

State of
Asia at the
death of
Akbar.

Shaw Tamasp, king of Persia, lived down to the twentieth year of Akbar. He reigned, in great tranquillity, and with some renown, fifty three years. His son, Ismael the second, succeeded him; but he was taken off in less than two years after his accession, by the procurement of his sister Peria Concona, who was afraid of his cruelty. Mahommed, the brother of Ismael the second, ascended the throne of Persia, and reigned with reputation: he died in the 993 of the Higera, and was succeeded by his son Hamza, who was assassinated, in a few months after his accession, by the procurement of his brother Ismael, who ascended the throne of Persia, by the name of Ismael the third. Ismael did not long enjoy the reward of fratricide, being, in less than eight months, murdered by his barber. His brother, Shaw Abbas the first, surnamed the Great, mounted the throne, and reigned with great reputation forty three years. The Usbecks became formidable to the

the Persians, during the interrupted reigns, between Tamasp and Abbas. The provinces on the frontiers of India and Persia, remained in the possession of the Mogul imperial family of Hindostan.

THE
D E C L I N E
OF THE
M O G U L E M P I R E.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

MAHOMMED FERISHTA, the author of the preceding abridgment of the history of India, finishes his account of that empire with the death of Akbar. The translator has reason to entertain hopes of being able to procure original and authentic histories of the Mogul dynasty established in Hindostan, from the conquest of that country by the great sultan Baber, to the present times: he, therefore, will not break in upon his design of giving, some time or other, to the public, a complete history of the posterity of Timurlin India, by retailing

Proposal for
a complete
history of
the family
of Timur.

the very imperfect accounts already published in Europe. But as, to translate from the Persian language is a task of difficulty, his engaging further, in works of this kind, will depend entirely upon the reception the public shall give to his first attempt in that way. If he shall find that he is not capable to acquit himself, in some degree, to the satisfaction of the world, he will, in prudence, lay down his pen; and leave that field to men of greater abilities, who may hereafter turn their thoughts to the subject.

Domestic
affairs of In-
dia little
known.

The transactions of the court of Delhi, since the invasion of the famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, which happened about thirty years ago, are very little known in the West. They have not, even in Asia, been hitherto committed to writing; and if the present confusions of the Mogul empire shall long continue, it is probable the memory of them will die with those who were principally concerned in them. This consideration has induced the translator of Ferishta's history, to throw together the most material events, which have happened in the empire, since the memorable irruption of the Persians, in the year 1738. He derives his authority, for some of the facts, from a Persian manuscript, now in his hands, concerning six years of the reign of Mahommed Shaw; and as to the rest, he principally follows a short sketch of the affairs of the empire, given to him in writing, by his intimate friend the Raj Raiân, secretary of state to the present Mogul.

Succession
from Akbar
to Mahom-
med Shaw.

To continue the line of connection, between the preceding history and the reign of Mahommed, who sat upon the throne of Delhi when the invasion of Nadir Shaw happened, it may not be improper, just to mention the succession of the kings, from Akbar to that period. It is necessary to observe, that, after consulting the

the most authentic Persian histories, the author of this account finds himself obliged to differ from all the European writers, who have treated the subject, with regard to the duration of most of the reigns.

A. D.
1625.

Upon the death of Akbar, his son Selim, ascended the throne, in Agra, upon Thursday the 20th of the second Jemmâd, in the 1014 year of the Higerâ. He, upon his accession, assumed the title of JEHANGIRE, or lord of the world, and reigned twenty-two years, nine months, and twenty days, with much more reputation and success than could have been expected of so weak a prince. His death happened upon Sunday the 28th of Sissor, in the 1037 year of the Higerâ, which corresponds with the 1627 of the Christian æra.

1627.

The prince KURRUM, the third son of Jehangire, mounted the throne at Agra, upon the 8th of the second Jemmâd, in the year 1037, and, under the title of SHAW JEHAN, or king of the world, reigned thirty-two years, three months, and twenty days. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Aurungzebe, who dated the commencement of his reign, from the first of Ramzan, in the 1069 of the Higerâ. Aurungzebe, upon his accession, took the name of Allumgire *.

1648.

ALLUMOIRE, having reigned fifty years, two months and twenty-eight days, died, in a very advanced age, at Ahmednagur, in the Decan, upon Friday the 28th of Zicada, in the 1119 of the Higerâ, or the 1707 of our æra.

* Though Shaw Jehan was confined during the time his four rebellious sons, Dara Sheko, Suja, Aurungzebe, and Morâd, contended for the crown, yet as Aurungzebe prevailed over his brothers, and dated his reign from the year 1069, we have included the time of the civil wars in the reign of his father.

A. D. 1707. Mahommed Mauzim, Aurungzebe's second son, succeeded his father in the throne, under the title of **BAHADAR SHAW**. He died, after a short reign of four years and eleven months, and was succeeded by his eldest son, **Moaz ul Dien**.

1712. **Moaz ul Dien**, under the title of **JEHANDAR SHAW**, reigned eighteen months. Some writers do not include him in the succession of kings, as the succeeding emperor, the son of **Azim Shaw**, the second son of the preceding emperor, **Bahadar Shaw**, under the name of **Firrochsere**, dated his reign from the death of his grandfather.

1713. **FIRROCHSERE**, according to his own computation, reigned six years. He was blinded, and afterwards put to death, by the two **Seids**, upon the 12th of the second **Jemmâd**, in the 1130 of the **Higera**.

1717. **RAFFEIH UL DIRJAT**, the son of **Raffeih ul Shaw**, the third son of the emperor **Bahadar Shaw**, was raised to the throne, by the ambitious **Seids**; and after a nominal reign of three months, was put to death by the same faction, by whose interest he had obtained the crown.—His brother **RAFFEIH UL DOWLAT** succeeded him; but he died in a few days.

M A H O M M E' D.

MAHOMMED, the son of Jehân, and grand-son of the emperor Bahadar Shaw, acceded to the throne of Delhi, in the month of Shawal of the year 1130 of the Higerâ.—Mahomed, having rid himself of the two Scids, Abdalla and Hassen, who had so long tyrannized in the empire, raising and deposing kings at pleasure, gave himself wholly up to indolence, and the enervating pleasures of the Haram. The distractions, before Mahommed's accession, occasioned principally by the ambition of the Scids, gave the first mortal wound to the Mogul empire, under which it has ever since languished. Most of the omrahs, either envying or dreading the power of the Scids, formed ambitious schemes of independence in their respective provinces, which the apparent debility of the regal authority very much favoured.

A. D. 1718.
Mahom-
med accedes
to the
throne.

An omrah called Cuttulich Chan, who, as Nizam ul muluck, or regulator of the country, a title given to the governor general of the Decan, commanded, for some years, all the rich provinces of that extensive country. He being sensible of the weakness of Mahommed, maintained a great standing army, under a pretence of keeping the unsubdued Indian princes and Mahrattor * chiefs in awe. But the real design

Designs of
the Nizam.

* These are they, who are known in Europe, under the disfigured name of Morattoes.

of this force was to found an independent kingdom for himself in the Decan, as Hassen Caco Bemeni had done in the reign of Tuglick Shaw*. To facilitate his ambitious views, the Nizam began to extend his power in the Decan, by the reduction of the neighbouring Indian princes, who had not yet submitted to the Mogul yoke. Though the revenues of his government must have been very considerably increased by these conquests, he remitted none to the Delhi; and, at the same time, to weaken the empire, he encouraged, or at least, permitted the Mahrattors to make hostile incursions into the interior provinces. These irregular marauders ravaged the opulent kingdoms of Malava, Narvar, Biana and Ajmere, in such a manner, that no revenues could be paid by the unfortunate inhabitants.

King's
weakness.

The weak Mahommed, instead of checking this insolence with the sword, disgraced the dignity of the house of Timur, by submitting to become, in a manner, tributary to those despicable banditti. He agreed to pay them the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of those provinces, which had been subject to their depredations. From this pusillanimous conduct of Mahommed, we may date the irretrievable decline of the Mogul empire. That opinion, which supports government in every country, was now destroyed in India; and each petty chieftain began to start up into a prince, as he had nothing to fear from a government which had betrayed such evident symptoms of timidity.

* This Hassen Caco mounted the throne at Kilbirga in the Decan, which city he called from himself, Hassen-abad, upon the 24th of Ribbi ul Achir, in the 748 of the Higera. He assumed the title of sultan Alla ul Dien.

Chan Dowran Sumfam ul Dowla was, at this time, captain-general of the empire. As the offices of paymaster-general and commander in chief of the troops are injudiciously joined in one person, in Hindostan, Dowran had such an influence in the state, that he engrossed to himself all the ministerial power. He left, in short, nothing but their names in the government to the king and his vizier, Kummir. Dowran was sly, artful; insinuating; of an active and intriguing disposition; in appearance assuming no authority, when, at the same time, he directed every thing. He executed, in public, as by the king's orders, whatever he himself had resolved upon in private. As the indolent Mahommed was even averse to the trouble of thinking, the suggestions of this artful nobleman, who was full of plausibility, and prompt to execute whatever he advised, were always grateful to the royal ear. The captain-general, though personally brave, permitted his master's authority to be daily insulted by despicable enemies. He foresaw that to take the field, without the king, would probably put an end to his influence over him; for he knew that the disposition of Mahommed was sickle and inconsistent; and apt to be swayed to any thing, by every artful person near him.

Dowran made many unsuccessful attempts to persuade the emperor to accompany him to the field. The dissolute monarch was not to be removed from the luxurious indolence of the palace. The Mahrattors, in the mean time, continued their inroads. They ravaged the province of Guzerat, and raised the Chout as far as the Indus. They returned back from that river, by the way of Ajmere and Biana, and spread their devastations to the very gates of Agra. The captain-general, though much against his

Dowran's
character.

King's in-
dolence.

his inclination, found himself obliged to march against these plunderers. But, instead of chastising them, he ingloriously promised to pay them the Chout, upon condition they should immediately evacuate the provinces.

Mahrattors
defeated.

The barbarians gaining courage by this submission, and trusting very little to promises extorted by fear, from Dowran, crossed the Jumna, near Calpee, with a design to plunder the province of Oud.. Sadit Chan, who then possessed that subaship, opposed them, between the rivers in the district of Korah, and gave them a total defeat. They fled to Feridabad near Delhi, whither they were closely pursued by Sadit, who had, on his way, joined the imperial army under Dowran.

Attempt
upon Delhi.

Before the united armies under Dowran and Sadit came up, the Mahrattors made an attempt to plunder Delhi. They were opposed, without the walls, by two imperial omrahs, Hassen and Amir, the former of whom was killed in the action. The Mahrattors had now possessed themselves of the suburbs, when the vizier, coming up with an army, put them to flight. But notwithstanding these repeated defeats, the Mahrattors found means to retreat, with a great booty, to the Decan, their native country.

The Nizam
called to
court.

The court of Delhi, finding that the Nizam of the Decan favoured the incursions of the Mahrattors, devised many schemes to inveigle him to court, that they might deprive him either of his life or government. The crafty Nizam, penetrating into their designs, conceived an implacable resentment against Dowran, who, he knew, was at the bottom of the whole affair. But as the empire, notwithstanding its growing imbecility, was still sufficiently strong to reduce the
Nizam,

Nizam, had he broke forth in open rebellion, he thought it most prudent to obey the royal command. He, however, previously strengthened his interest at court, by a coalition with many great omrahs, who were disgusted with the insolence of Dowran. The Nizam, having taken a step so necessary for his own safety, set out for court, leaving his son Ghazi ul Dien in the government of the Decan. He arrived at Agra, with a retinue, or rather an army of 20000 men; and, as he held the office of Vakeel Muttuluch *, or absolute agent of the provinces, he expected to command Dowran, and to draw all the reins of government into his own hands.

Sadit, governor of Oud, pluming himself upon his success against the Mahrattors, aspired to the ministerial power. The king continued to favour Dowran, and to support him against the Nizam; for, however weak Mahommed was, he could not but see through that ambitious governor's designs, by his behaviour for some years back. But as the Nizam had, upon the spot, a force to protect his person, and a strong party at court; and as his son, a man of great parts, commanded all the provinces of the Decan, the king was assured, that to deprive him of his government, would occasion a revolt, which, in its consequences, might prove fatal to the royal house of Timur.

In the mean time Sadit, finding that he could not effect any thing against the united interests of the Nizam and Vizier, who had joined factions, was easily brought over to their party. The terms of this coalition were, that when the Nizam and Vizier should force themselves into the management of the affairs of govern-

* For the nature of this office see the preface.

A. D. 1594. ment, Sadit should be appointed pay-master-general of the forces, with the title of captain-general of the empire, which Dowran at that time possessed.

The accession of Sadit and his party did not render the faction of the Nizam and Vizier sufficiently strong to turn Dowran from his high employ. He had absolute possession of the royal ear, and the army, who depended upon him for their pay, remained firm to his interest. The faction of the malecontents was reduced to despair; and the Nizam, to gratify his resentment against Dowran, concerted, with Sadit, a plan, which gave the last stroke to the tottering authority of the crown.

Nadir Shaw
invited by a
faction to
India,

The famous Nadir Shaw, king of Persia, was at this juncture, in the province of Candahar. The disaffected omrahs resolved to invite him to India. They foresaw that a Persian invasion would occasion confusions and distractions in the empire, which must facilitate their own schemes of independence in their respective governments; it must, at any rate ruin Dowran, which was a very capital object to men possessed of such inveterate animosities against that minister. Whether the Nizam did not even extend his views to the empire itself, admits of some doubt. Many sensible men in India think that he did; and affirm, that his opinion was, that Nadir Shaw would depose Mahommed; and, to secure his conquest, extirpate the family of Timur: he argued with himself, that as it was not probable that the Persian would fix his residence in Hindostan, he hoped, for his services, to secure to himself the viceroyship of that empire; and that afterwards time and circumstances would point out the line of his future proceedings.

Full of these ambitious projects, and at the same time to avenge himself of his political enemy, the Nizam, in conjunction with Sadit, wrote to Nadir Shaw. That monarch received their letters at Candahar, and, in an answer to them, pointed out many difficulties which he had to surmount in the proposed invasion. He represented to them, that it would be extremely difficult to penetrate even into Cabul and Peshawir, provinces belonging to the empire to the north-west of the Indus, which provinces Nasir Chan had governed for twenty years, with great reputation, and kept in pay a formidable army of Moguls and Afghans: that should he even force his way through the government of Nasir, there were five great rivers to cross in Punjab, where Zekirria, governor of Lahore, would certainly oppose him; and that even should he get over those obstacles, the imperial army still remained to be defeated.

The Nizam, and his colleague, in treason, endeavoured to remove the king's objections, by assuring him, that they would bring over the governors of the frontier provinces to their faction; and that, as they themselves commanded one half of the imperial army, little danger was to be dreaded from the other. The Persian began his march from Candahar, with a great army, about the vernal equinox of the 1149 of the Higera. He took the rout of Ghizni, and the governor of that city came out with presents, and submitted himself and the province to the king, agreeing to pay the usual revenues to Persia. Nadir Shaw continued his march from Ghizni to Cabul, which city he immediately invested. Shirza, an omrah of seventy years of age, was, at this time, governor of Cabul. Being summoned, he refused to surrender,

At D. 1738.
His policy.

Nizam's intrigues at court.

A.D. 1738. der, and made the proper dispositions for an obstinate defence.

Nadir Shaw
takes Cabul.

The king of Persia finding that neither fair promises nor threats could induce Shirza to open the gates of Cabul, assaulted the place for six days together. In this desperate manner, many of the bravest soldiers, who suffer most upon these occasions, fell; without making any impression on the besieged: upon the seventh day, Nadir Shaw found means to bring over to his party, Nasir, governor of the province of Cabul, the son of that Nasir, who was, for twenty years, subadar of Peshawir. That traitor, with the provincial army, presented himself at that gate of the city which was opposite to the side of the attack, and sent a letter to the gallant Shirza. He requested immediate admittance to the place, to prevent his being cut off by the enemy; insinuating, that his forces, when joined with the garrison, would be a match for the Persians in the field.

The unfortunate Shirza, not suspecting the treachery of the young omrah, consented to receive within the walls the women and baggage of the provincial army; but insisted that the troops should encamp before the gate, till a council should be held, concerning what was best to be done upon this urgent occasion. The women and baggage were accordingly admitted, with a proper guard; and Shirza, with a few attendants, went out to have an interview with Nasir. No sooner was Shirza out of the city, than the king of Persia began a general assault; while one Rahim, an officer of the traitor Nasir, seized upon Shirza, and confined him. The two sons of Shirza, ignorant of their father's fate, in the mean time defended the gates with great firmness and resolution; till one of them

them was killed by that part of Nadir's army A D 1738 that had been admitted into the city. The remaining brother, in this desperate situation, knew not which enemy he ought to oppose, while the garrison, struck with terror and confusion, deserted their posts upon the wall. Nadir Shaw took advantage of this panic, forced open the gates, took the place, massacred many of the inhabitants, and inhumanly put to death the gallant Shirza and his son.

The king of Persia found in the treasury of Finds great wealth in that city Cabul two millions, five hundred thousand of our money in specie, and effects to the value of two millions more: in these were included four thousand complete suits of armour, inlaid with gold: four thousand of polished steel, four thousand mails for horses, and a great quantity of fine tissues and dresses, deposited in Cabul by the emperor Shāw Jehan. The king of Persia remained at Cabul seven months, before he would attempt to cross the Indus. He, in the mean time, kept up a correspondence with the conspirators in Delhi, and maturely settled his plan of operations. He at length, put his army in motion, and directed his march to Peshawir.

Nadir, the Mogul Provinces of Peshawir submit. governor of Peshawir, had wrote, repeatedly, to the court of Delhi, for succours; but the captain general Dowran, in his answers, affected to despise the king of Persia; and insinuated, that it was impossible he could meditate the conquest of Hindostan. He, however, promised, from time to time, that he himself would march with the imperial army, and drive the invader back to Persia. The disaffected omrahs wrote, at the same time, to Nadir, to make the best terms he could with Nadir Shaw; for that there was little hopes of his being reinforced with any part of the royal army.

Nadir,

A.D. 1738.

November
20.

Nasir, finding himself neglected by the court, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself prisoner to the king of Persia, upon the 20th of Shaban. He was soon after taken into favour by that monarch, and appointed one of his viziers. Nadir Shaw had, by this time, crossed the Nilab, one of the most considerable of the five branches of the Indus. He issued out an order to ravage the country, to spread the terror of his arms far and wide.

Consternation at
Delhi.

Daily advices of the approach of the Persians came to Delhi. A general consternation among the people, and a distraction in the councils of the government ensued. The king and his minister, Dowran, were so weak, that either they did not suspect the treachery of the disaffected omrahs, or took no measures to prevent their designs. New obstacles were daily thrown in the way of the military preparations of Dowran, till the Nizam and his colleagues thought, that the procrastination which they had occasioned, had sufficiently weakened the imperial cause.

A camp
formed.
December
1.

1739.
January.

Upon the first of Ramzan, the Vizier, the Nizam and Dowran, incamped without the city, with a great train of artillery, and began to levy forces. Nadir Shaw, during these transactions, crossed the Bea, and on the first of Shawal appeared before Lahore. Zekiria, governor of the city and province, who was incamped with 5000 horse before the walls, retreated into the city. He, the next day, marched out and attacked the Persians. A general rout of his army was the consequence, and the conquerors were so close to the heels of the run-ways, that they possessed themselves of the gates.—Zekiria waited immediately upon Nadir Shaw, with a royal present of half a lack of rousees, was politely received by that monarch, and Lahore was preserved from being plundered. The

The king of Persia continued his march towards Delhi, and upon the 14th of Zicada, appeared in sight of the imperial army. The emperor was encamped upon the plains of Karnal; so that only the canal, which supplied Delhi with water, divided the armies. The Moguls had only possessed themselves of that ground about two days before the arrival of Nadir Shaw, and had thrown up entrenchments and redoubts before them, mounted with five hundred pieces of artillery. The army, which the king now commanded in person, consisted of 150,000 horse, exclusive of irregular infantry. This unwieldy body of militia was composed of all sorts of people, collected indiscriminately in the provinces, by the omrahs, who thought that a sufficient number of men and horses was all that was necessary to form a good army. Subordination was a thing unknown in the Mogul camp: the private soldier, as well as the omrah, acted only by the impulse of his own mind.

The Persians, though not so numerous as the Moguls, were under some degree of regulation. The rank of Nadir Shaw's officers, was determined; and his own commands were instantly and implicitly obeyed. Severe to excess, he pardoned no neglect or disobedience in his omrahs. He has even been known to send a mace bearer to a general, at the head of 5000 horse; with orders to make him halt and receive corporal punishment, for a misdemeanor, in the front of his own men. Though this rigor may be thought in Europe, too tyrannical and repugnant to a military spirit; yet, in a country, where the principles of honour are little known, fear is the strongest motive to a strict performance of duty.

The governor of Oud, upon the 14th of Zicada, having out-marched his baggage, joined the imperial army. Just as he was receiving an ho-

A.D. 1739.
Nadir Shaw
in full
march to
Delhi Fe-
bruary 14.

His dis-
cipline.

February
14. Treas-
chery of
Sadit Chast.

A. D. 1739. norary dress from the emperor, advice came that the light horse of Nadir Shaw had attacked his baggage. Sadit requested of the king to be permitted to march out against the enemy. The whole of this attack was a plan concerted between Nadir Shaw and the traitor, in order to draw the Moguls from their entrenchments. The king, however, laid his commands upon Sadit to wait until the next morning, when, "by the favor of God," he intended to march out, with his whole army, to give the Persians battle. But so little did Sadit regard Mahommed's orders, that, as soon as he had quitted the presence, he issued out with 1000 horse, which he had brought from his government, and attacked the enemy. A mock engagement now commenced, between Sadit and a part of the Persian army; who were ordered to retreat before him. He sent repeated messages, from the field to the king, requesting more troops, and that he would drive the enemy back to Persia.

Dowran attacks the Persians.

The emperor, justly incensed at the disobedience of Sadit, would not, for some time, permit any succours to be sent to him. Dowran, at length, prevailed with the king to permit him, with 15,000 men, to support Sadit. When Dowran came up to the field, Sadit, in a feigned attack, joined the Persians, and permitted himself to be taken prisoner. His design was to get the start of his partner in treason, the Nizam, in engaging the Persian monarch in his interest.

with great bravery.

In the mean time, the troops of Sadit being strangers to the treachery of their commander, joined Dowran, and continued the engagement. Dowran was immediately attacked on all sides, by the bulk of the Persian army. He, however, for some time, maintained his ground with great firmness and resolution; and was at length unwillingly drawn from the field, though he had received

received a wound which soon after proved mortal, by three repeated messages from the king, commanding his immediate attendance. A.D. 1739.

Mahommed was, with good reason, apprehensive that the Nizam, who was then in the camp, was preparing to seize him, which made him so anxious for the presence of Dowran. When the wounded general appeared before the king, he told him of the situation of affairs, and earnestly intreated him to permit him to return to the field, with the troops which were under his immediate command, as captain-general, consisting of 36000 men, together with two hundred pieces of cannon. "Grant my request," said he, "and you shall never see me return, but in triumph." Recalled to the camp

The king was now perplexed beyond measure. He dreaded the designs of the Nizam, should Dowran be absent, and, at the same time, he durst not permit the traitor to march out of the lines, for fear he should join the Persians. He, therefore, fell into the common error of weak minds, and hesitated, in hopes that delay would give birth to a more favorable concurrence of events.—He was deceived: the happy moment, for the preservation of himself, and the empire, was now upon the wing. His troops maintained still their ground, under Muzziffer, the gallant brother of Dowran; and a reinforcement would turn the scale of victory in their favor. The king apprehensive of the Nizam.

When Dowran quitted the field, the command of those Moguls, who were engaged, devolved upon his brother Muzziffer. That brave omrah made a violent charge upon the Persian army, and penetrated to the very door of Nadir Shaw's tent. There, for want of being supported from the camp, Muzziffer, Ali, Dowran's son, Raja Gugermull, Mullu, Eadgar, and twenty-seven Gallant behaviour of Muzziffer.

A.D. 1739. officers of distinction, covered one small spot of ground with their bodies. Ten thousand common Mogul soldiers were slain in this desperate action; which had almost proved fatal to Nadir Shaw, for his whole army were upon the point of giving way; several great detachments having fled back forty miles from the field of battle. After the engagement, the few that remained of the Moguls, retired within the entrenchments *.

Dowran
dies of his
wounds.

Dowran, though wounded, had that night an interview with the Nizam. It was agreed, that the whole army should next morning march out of the lines, and attack the Persians in their camp. But when the morning came, Dowran's wound, which he had received in the arm, was so much inflamed, that he could not act, and, therefore, the meditated attack was delayed. In the evening of the 18th, a mortification ensued, which was then attributed to something applied to the wound by a surgeon bribed by the Nizam; and many in India still continue in the same belief. Be that as it will, Dowran expired that night, amidst the tears of his sovereign, who had a great friendship for him.

February
18.

Designs of
the Nizam.

When this brave omrah, on whom alone the hopes of the emperor rested, was dead, the Nizam stood unrivalled in the management of affairs. The whole authority devolved upon him, and the king became a cypher in the midst of his own camp. The traitor finding now the power of the empire in his hands, under a certainty of being able to dispose of the king at any time, ac-

† Frazer says, that only 4000 Persians were engaged; but we have reason to doubt his authority, as we derive our account from several persons, who were present in the action.

according to his own pleasure, set a treaty on foot with Nadir Shaw, for the immediate return of that monarch into Persia. So little hopes had the Persian, at this time, of conquering the Mogul empire, that he actually agreed for the pitiful sum of fifty lacks of roupees, about six hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, to evacuate Hindostan. A. O. 1739.

Sadit, who, we have already observed, was in the Persian camp, hearing of these transactions, used all possible means to break off the treaty. The regard of Nadir Shaw to his plighted faith, was not proof against the lucrative offers of Sadit. That omrah promised to pay to the Persian two crores of roupees or two millions five hundred thousand pounds out of his own private fortune, upon condition he should reduce the Nizam, and place himself at the head of the administration. — In the mean time, the Nizam, who was now appointed captain-general by the emperor, finding that Nadir Shaw broke the treaty, began to talk in a high strain, and to make preparations for coming to action with the Persians, to which the king strenuously urged him. But the active spirit of Nadir Shaw was not idle during these transactions. He possessed himself of several strong posts, round the Indian camp, and totally cut off their supplies of provisions. The Nizam perceiving that he must act with great disadvantage, if he should march out of his lines and attack the Persians, began to renew the treaty, and offered more than Sadit had done to Nadir Shaw. Frustrated by Sadit.

Mahommed, being informed that these two villains, without his communication, were making separate bargains, about himself and his empire, and that he even had not the shadow of authority in his own camp, took a sudden resolution February 25. Mahommed resolves to visit the king of Persia.

A.D. 1739. lution to throw himself upon the clemency of Nadir Shaw. "A declared enemy," said he to the few friends who still adhered to him, is "by no means to be dreaded so much as secret foes, under the specious character of friends." Having, therefore, previously acquainted the Persian of his intentions, he set out in the morning of the 20th, in his travelling throne, with a small retinue, for Nadir Shaw's camp.

His reception.

The king of Persia, upon the Mogul's approach, sent his son, Nisir Alla, to conduct him to the royal tent. Nadir Shaw advanced a few steps from his throne, and embraced Mahommed, and sitting down, placed him upon his left hand. The substance of their conversation has been already given to the public by Frazer: and, therefore, we shall only observe here, that Nadir Shaw severely reprimanded the Mogul, for his pusillanimous behaviour, in paying the Chout to the Mahrattors, and for suffering himself to be invested in his camp, in the very centre of his dominions, without making one single effort to repel the invasion.

Nadir Shaw in perplexity.

Nadir Shaw, after this conversation, retired to another tent, called to him his vizier, and consulted with him what was best to be done with Mahommed, in this critical situation. The vizier told him, that, should he confine the king, the Nizam, who commanded the army, would immediately act for himself; and, as he was an able officer, they might meet with great difficulty in reducing him. But that, should the king be permitted to return to the camp with assurances of friendship and protection, a party would join him, that would, at least, be a balance against the influence of the Nizam.

His policy.

Nadir Shaw saw the propriety of what his vizier advised. He immediately returned to the royal tent, and told Mahommed, that, as his therto

therto the Imperial house of Timur had not injured the Persians, it was far from his intentions to deprive Mahommed of his kingdom. "But," said he, with a determined look, "the expence of this expedition must be paid, and, during the time of collecting the money, my fatigued army must refresh themselves in Delhi." The emperor made little reply to Nadir Shaw's discourse. He was, however, permitted to return to his camp, and the Persian began to lay schemes to seize the Nizam. One Casim Beg was employed in this affair. He, in Nadir Shaw's name, made the Nizam many protestations of friendship, and obtained a promise, that he would visit that monarch in his camp. He accordingly, upon the 24th, set out, and was, immediately upon his arrival in the Persian lines, seized, and, together with some great omrahs who attended him, confined.

Mahommed, looking upon the Nizam's confinement as a plan laid by the traitor himself, in order that he might negotiate matters with the Persian with more security, determined to pay a second visit to Nadir Shaw.—That monarch had, by this time, secured most of the Mogul omrahs, one after another, and when the emperor, upon the 26th, arrived in the camp, a tent was pitched for him near the royal pavilion. The unfortunate Mahommed was carried into his tent, and left for some time alone. A collation was brought him, and he ate very heartily; without betraying any symptoms of being affected with his unhappy situation. Nadir Shaw was greatly astonished when he heard of Mahommed's behaviour, and exclaimed: "What kind of man must this be, who can, with so much indifference, give his freedom and empire to the wind? But we are told, by the wise, that greatness of mind consists in two extremes: to suffer

A. D. 1739

February 26.

Mahommed's insensibility to his misfortunes.

A. D. 1739. “suffer patiently, or to act boldly; to despise
“the world, or to exert all the powers of the
“mind to command it. This man has chosen
“the former: but the latter was the choice of
“Nadir Shaw.”

Used with
resp & by
Nadir Shaw. Though Mahommed was hindered from re-
turning to his own camp, he was permitted to
have all his domestics about him; who amounted
to three thousand. A thousand Persian horse
mounted guard upon him: but this pretended
honor, which was conferred upon him, was a
certain badge of his forlorn condition. In the
mean time, Kummir, the vizier, Surbullind
Chan, the Nizam, and all the principal Mogul
omrahs, were kept in the same kind of honora-
ble confinement. The Persian had now nothing
to fear from an army without officers. He en-
tered the camp, seized upon the ordinance, the
military chest, the jewel-office, the wardrobe
and armory.—He ordered three months pay to
be immediately advanced to his troops, and the
best of the artillery he sent off to Cabul.

March 2.
Who
marches to
Delhi. Upon the 2d of Zehidge, Nadir Shaw moved
from Karnâl towards Delhi. The emperor,
guarded by ten thousand men, marched a few
miles in his rear. The Mogul army were, at the
same time, ordered to march in two irregular
columns, one on each side of the Persians, the
front of whose column was advanced two miles
beyond the other two. By continued marches,
Nadir Shaw arrived upon the 8th in the suburbs
of the city. He himself, at the head of 12000
horse, entered the city next day.

Behaviour
to the Ni-
zam, &c, The king of Persia, finding himself in posses-
sion of Delhi, called the Nizam and Sadit into
his presence, and addressed them in the following
extraordinary manner: “Are not you both
“most ungrateful villains to your king and
“country;

“ country ; who, after possessing such wealth and A. D. 1739.
“ dignities, called me from my own dominions,
“ to ruin them and yourselves? But I will
“ scourge you all with my wrath, which is the
“ instrument of the vengeance of God.” Hav-
ing spoke these words, he spit upon their beards,
the highest affront possible to Mussulmen, and
turned them, with every mark of indignity,
from his presence.

After the traitors were thrust out into the
court of the palace, the Nizam addressed himself
to Sadit, and swore, by the holy prophet, that
he would not survive this indignity. Sadit ap-
plauded his resolution, and swore he would swal-
low poison upon his return home ; the Nizam did
the same ; and both, determined in appearance
upon death, retired to their respective houses.

Sadit, in the mean time, sent a trusty spy to Their
scheme to
destroy
themselves.
bring him intelligence when the Nizam should
take his draught. The Nizam, being come home,
appeared in the deepest affliction : but having
privately intimated his plot to a servant, he or-
dered him to bring him the poison. The servant
acted his part well. He brought him an innocent
draught, with great reluctance. The Nizam,
after some hesitation, and having formally said
his prayers, drank it off in the presence of Sadit's
spy, and soon after pretended to fall down dead.
The spy hastened back to his master, and told
him that the Nizam had just expired. Sadit,
ashamed of being outdone in a point of honor by
his fellow in iniquity, swallowed a draught of
real poison, and became the just instrument of
punishment to his own villainy. The Nizam
was not ashamed to live, though none had
greater reason. He even prided in that wicked
trick, by which he had rid himself of his rival,
and

A.D. 1739. and afterwards actually enjoyed the intended fruits of all his villainies.

Gates of
Delhi shut. The Persian, in the mean time, placed guards upon the gates of Delhi, with orders to permit no person whatever to pass in or out without his special licence. These strict injunctions were given to prevent the inhabitants from evacuating the place, and from carrying away their wealth. He, at the same time, issued his commands, that no person whatsoever should be molested; but he demanded twenty-five crores, about thirty millions of our money, as a contribution for sparing the city.

Contribu-
tions im-
posed.

March 10.

Whilst the magistrates were contriving ways and means to raise this enormous sum, by laying a tax in proportion to their wealth on individuals, famine began to rage in the city, as all communication with the country was cut off. Upon the 10th Nadir Shaw ordered the granaries to be opened, and sold rice at a certain price. This occasioned a prodigious mob in all the public Bazzars, particularly in the Shawgunge, or royal market. A Persian soldier in this market, seeing a man selling pigeons, seized by force upon his basket. The fellow, to whom the pigeons belonged, made a hideous outcry, and proclaimed aloud, That Nadir Shaw had ordered a general pillage.

A tumult,

The mob immediately fell upon the Persian, who was protected by some of his own countrymen. A great tumult arose, and some persons, bent upon more mischief, cried aloud, That Nadir Shaw was dead; and that now was the time to drive the Persians out of the city. The citizens, who in general carried arms, drew their swords, and began to cut to pieces the Persians, wherever they could be found. The report of the death of Nadir Shaw flew, like lightning, through

through every street in Delhi; and all places A.D. 1732. were filled with tumult, confusion, and death. It was now dark, and the Persians, who had been straggling through the city, returned to the citadel, except two thousand who were killed by the mob.

About twelve o'clock at night, the king of Persia was informed of these transactions. He Nadir Shaw informed of the tumult. immediately ordered what men he had with him under arms, and, putting himself at their head, marched out as far as the Musjid of Roshin ul Dowlat. He thought it prudent to halt there till day-light should appear. He, in the mean time, sent for the Nizam, Sirbillund, and Kimmir the Mogul vizier, and threatened to put them to instant death, charging them with fomenting these tumults. They swore upon the Coran, that they March 11 were innocent, and he pardoned them. When day began to appear, a person from a neighbouring terrace fired upon Nadir Shaw, and killed an officer by his side. The king was so enraged, that, though the tumult had, by this time, totally subsided, he ordered the officers of the cavalry to lead their squadrons through the streets, and some musqueteers to scour the terraces, and to commence a general massacre among the unfortunate inhabitants. This order was executed with so much rigor, that, before two o'clock Orders a general massacre. in the afternoon, above 100,000 without distinction of age, sex, or condition, lay dead in their blood, though not above one third part of the city was visited by the sword. Such was the panic, terror and confusion of these poor wretches, that instead of bravely opposing death, the men threw down their arms, and, with their wives and children, submitted themselves like sheep to the slaughter. One Persian soldier often butchered a whole family, without meeting with any resistance. The Hindoos, according to their barbarous

A. D. 1739. barbarous custom, shut up their wives and daughters, and set fire to their apartments, and then threw themselves into the flames. Thousands plunged headlong into wells, and were drowned; death was seen in every horrid shape; and, at last, seemed rather to be sought after than avoided.

The king of Persia sat, during this dreadful scene, in the Musgid of Roshin ul Dowlat. None but the slave durst come near him, for his countenance was dark and terrible. At length, the unfortunate emperor, attended by a number of his chief omrahs, ventured to approach him with downcast eyes. The omrahs, who preceded Mahommed, bowed down their foreheads to the ground. Nadir Shaw sternly asked them what they wanted? They cried out, with one voice, "Spare the city." Mahommed said not a word, but the tears flowed fast from his eyes. The tyrant, for once touched with pity, sheathed his sword, and said, "For the sake of the prince Mahommed, I forgive."

His severity

No sooner had he pronounced these words than, according to our author, the massacre was stopt; and so instantaneous was the effect of his orders, that in a few minutes every thing was calm in the city. He then retired into the citadel, and inquired into the original cause of this tumult. The noble Seid Neaz, the superintendent of the royal market, for having been active in this affair, was put to death. Kifrac, a brave omrah, for having defended his house against the Persians who came to massacre his family, but who had not been concerned in the tumult, was beheaded.

Massacre at
Mogulpur.
72.

The tyrant's thirst for blood was not yet satisfied. He sent detachments daily to plunder the villages near Delhi, and to put all the inhabitants

bitants to the sword. Six thousand of the inhabitants of Mngulpurra were cut off for a very trivial offence. He sent a party into the royal market, where the tumult first arose, and ordered seven hundred persons to be seized indiscriminately, and their noses and ears to be cut off. A D 1739.

When now all disturbances were quelled by the blood of the unfortunate Delhians, the king of Persia had leisure to pillage the city at pleasure. He seized upon the public treasure and the regalia of the Mogul emperor. In the treasury several vaults were discovered, in which much wealth lay concealed, as well as many valuable effects. In the public treasury was found in specie, near four million sterling: in the private vaults were two millions five hundred thousand. The jewel office was estimated at thirty millions sterling, including the famous throne of the Mogul emperors, which was valued at more than twelve millions. The royal wardrobe and armory were reckoned worth seven millions sterling. Eight millions were raised in specie, by way of contribution, upon the city, and about ten millions in jewels; all which, together with horses, camels and elephants, amount to about sixty-two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money. The city pillaged.

Great cruelties were exercised in levying the contributions upon the city. Under an arbitrary government, like that of India, individuals find it necessary to conceal their wealth. Some omrahs, therefore, who had very little, were taxed very high, whilst others who were rich came off with a moderate sum. Many of the former, under the supposition, that they actually possessed more wealth, were, after they had given all they were worth in the world, tortured

A. D. 1739. tortured to death ; whilst others, to avoid pain, shame and poverty, put, with their own hands, an end to their miserable existence.

Upon the 21st of Mohirrim, the king of Persia celebrated the nuptials of his son, the prince Nasir Ali, with the daughter of Ezidan, the son of Kam, and grandson of the famous Aurungzebe. The Shaw himself discovered a violent desire to espouse the beautiful daughter of Muziffer * ; but he was prevented by one of his wives, who had the art to command the furious spirit of Nadir Shaw, which the rest of the world could not controul.

Humanity
of an actor.

During all these transactions the gates of the city were kept shut. Famine began to rage every day more and more ; but the Shaw was deaf to the miseries of mankind. The public spirit of Tucki, a famous actor, deserves to be recorded upon this occasion. He exhibited a play before Nadir Shaw, with which that monarch was so well pleased, that he commanded Tucki to ask, and what he wished should be done for him. Tucki fell upon his face, and said, “ O king, command the gates to be opened, that the poor may not perish.” His request was granted, and half the city poured out into the country ; and the place was supplied in a few days with plenty of provisions.

Mahomed
reinstated in
the throne.

The king of Persia, having now raised all the money he could in Delhi, reinstated Mahomed in the empire, upon the third of Siffer, with great solemnity and pomp. He placed the crown upon his head with his own hand, and presented him with a rich honorary dress ; dis-

* The brother of Dowran. He was slain in the battle at Karnal.

tributing,

tributing, at the same time, forty more among ^{A. D. 1739} the Mogul omrahs. He then gave to the emperor some instructions concerning the regulation of his army; to which he added some general maxims of government. He put him upon his guard against the Nizam, who, he plainly perceived, aspired above the rank of a subject. "Had not I," said the king of Persia, "foolishly passed my word for his safety, the old * traitor should not live to disturb Mahommed."

Every thing being ready upon the 7th, for ^{Nadir Shaw} Nadir Shaw's return to Persia, strict orders were ^{marches to-} issued to his army to carry no slaves away, ^{wards Per-} nor any Indian women, contrary to their inclinations, upon pain of immediate death. Before his departure, he obliged Mahommed formally to cede to the crown of Persia, the provinces of Cabul, Peshawir, Kandahar, Ghizni, Moultan and Sind, or, in in general, all those countries which lie to the northwest of the Indus. The whole of the treasure which Nadir Shaw carried from Hindostan, amounted, by the best computation, to eighty millions of our money.

When this destructive comet, to use the ex- ^{His charac-} pression of our Indian author, rolled back from ^{ter} the meridian of Delhi, he burnt all the towns and villages in his way to Lahore, and marked his route with devastation and death. "But before he disappears behind the mountains of Persia," says our author, continuing the metaphor of the comet, "it may not be improper to throw some light on the character of this scourge of Hindostan." Nadir Shaw, together with great strength of body, was endued with

* The Nizam was ² near ninety years of age.

A. D. 1739. uncommon force of mind. Inured to fatigue from his youth, struggling with dangers and difficulties, he acquired vigor from opposition, and a fortitude of soul, unknown in a life of ease. His ambition was unbounded and undisguised: he never fawned for power, but demanded it as the property of his superior parts. Had he been born to a throne, he deserved it; had he continued a subject, his glories would have been less dazzling, but more permanent and pure.

In a country where patriotism and honour are principles little known, fear is the only means to enforce obedience. This rendered Nadir Shaw so cruel and inexorable, that often, in his rage and the hurry of action, he inflicted general punishments for the crimes of a few. Courage, which he possessed in common with the lion, was his only virtue; and he owed his greatness to the great defects of his mind. Had his eye melted at human miseries, had his soul shuddered at murder, had his breast glowed once with benevolence, or, had his heart revolted at any injustice, he might have lived to an old age, but he would have died without the name of Nadir*.

Ambition
of the
Nizam.

The king of Persia having evacuated India, the Nizam began to discover his own ambitious designs. His rivals were now all removed; some by his villainy, and others by favorable accidents. Without opposition, the management of affairs fell into his hands. Though he ingrossed, in fact, the whole power, he delegated the great offices of the state to others. The name of vizier was retained by Kimmer, and that of

* Wonderful.

captain-

captain-general, was conferred upon the Nizam's son, the noble Ghazi ul Dien. He appointed Emir subadar of Allahabad, which so disgusted Mahomed Bungulshi, to whom that government was promised by the former administration, that he left the court without leave, and repaired to his estate at Ferocliabad. A. D. 1739.

The government of Oud being vacant by the death of Sadit, that subaship was conferred upon an omrah, called Scifdar Jung, together with the title of Burhan ul muluck. The Nizam, having nothing to fear from the subas of the other provinces, continued them in their employs. Notwithstanding the severe blow which the empire had just received, no measures were taken to revive the declining power of the crown. This was, by no means, the interest of the Nizam, who now assumed every thing of the king, but the name. Scifdar Jung made Suba of Oud.

Mahommed having suffered himself to be divested of his power in his capital, it could not be expected that his authority should be much regarded in the provinces. The nabobs and Indian princes, throughout the empire, paid now little attention to the firmans of the court of Delhi. Each of them entertained ideas of independence, and actually possessed a regal authority in their governments.—The Mahrattors, who had, for some time back, made large strides to establish the ancient Hindoo government in India, in the year 1153, made an incursion into the Carnatic with an army of eighty thousand horse, under the command of Ragojee. Having forced the passes of the mountains, they fell unexpectedly upon Doost Ali, nabob of that province, in subordination to the Nizam, who was governor-general of the Decan. The forces of Ali Doost were defeated, and he himself, to- Debility of the empire.

A. D. 1740. together with his son, Haffin Ali, fell in the action, after having exhibited extraordinary feats of bravery and firmness.

Affairs of
the Decan.

Sipadar Ali, the son, and Chunder Saib, the son-in-law of Dooft Ali, had still considerable armies under their command. But both having views upon the government of the province, instead of opposing the Mahrattors, committed hostilities upon one another. The consequence was, that they were obliged to shut themselves up in places of strength, the first in Velour, and the latter in Trichinopoly. The enemy were, by this means, permitted to ravage the province at their leisure, and to raise heavy contributions upon the inhabitants.

Sipadar Ali, finding he could effect nothing in the field against the Mahrattors, set a negotiation on foot with them, by the means of his father's minister, who had been taken prisoner in the action by those barbarians. It was at last determined in private, that, upon condition the Mahrattors should immediately evacuate the Carnatic, they should receive one hundred lacks rousees, at stated periods; and that, as a security for the payment of this sum, they should be put in possession of the territory of Trichinopoly. One of the terms was, that Sipadar Ali should be acknowledged nabob of the Carnatic.

Ali, having thus strengthened himself with the alliance of the Mahrattors, his brother-in-law thought it prudent to pay him homage at Arcot; not knowing that Trichinopoly, and those districts which he possessed, had been made over to the Mahrattors. The barbarians, in the mean time, returned to their own dominions; but, about six months thereafter, they made a second irruption into the Carnatic, to take possession

session of the territories which had been privately ceded to them by Sipadar Ali. Chunder Saib shut himself up in Trichinopoly; and after sustaining a siege of three months, was, upon the seventh of Mohirrim, 1154, obliged to surrender at discretion. A. D. 1740.

These transactions in the Decan did not disturb the peace at Delhi. The king and his ministers continued in a profound lethargy ever since the invasion of Nadir Shaw, and seemed indifferent about the affairs of the distant provinces. But a pressing danger at home roused them for a moment. A fellow, from the low rank of a grass-cutter, raised himself to the command of a gang of robbers. As in the debilitated state of government, he committed, for some time, his depredations with impunity, his banditti, by degrees, swelled to an army of twelve thousand men. He immediately assumed the imperial ensigns, under the title of Daranti Shaw. This mushroom of a king was, however, soon destroyed. Azim Alla, a gallant omrah, was sent against him with an army from Delhi. He came up with the rebels, cut the most of them to pieces, and slew Daranti in the action. This happened in the 1153 of the Higerah. Affairs at Delhi.

In the month of Regib, 1151, Sipadar Ali, nabob of the Carnatic, was assassinated by his brother-in-law, Mortaz Ali, who immediately acceded to Musnud. But a general mutiny arising in the army, the murderer was obliged to fly from his capital, in a female dress; and Mahommud, the son of Sipadar, was proclaimed suba of the Carnatic.

The Nizam, who claimed the sovereignty of the Decan, seeing these repeated revolutions in the Carnatic, without his concurrence, began Nizam marches into the Decan.

A.D. 1741. to prepare to leave the court of Delhi. He settled his affairs with the ministry, and returned to Hydrabad. He immediately collected an army, and, in the month of Ramzan, 1155, marched towards the Carnatic with near three hundred thousand men. In the Siffer of 1156, the Nizam arrived at Arcot without opposition; and found the country in such anarchy and confusion, that no less than twenty petty chiefs had assumed the titles of Nabob. The Nizam made a regulation, that whoever should take the name of Nabob, for the future, without permission, should be publickly scourged; and raised immediately Abdulla, one of his own generals, to the subaship of Arcot; ordering the son of Sipadar Ali into confinement. He, at the same time, possessed himself of the city of Trichinopoly by means of a sum of money which he gave to Malhar Raw, who commanded there on the part of the Mahrattors.

Settles that
country.

The Nizam, without drawing the sword, thus settled the affairs of the Carnatic. He returned in triumph to Golcondah, whither Abdulla, the new governor of Arcot, accompanied him. Abdulla, returning towards his government, was, the first night after his taking leave of the Nizam, found dead in his bed. Abdulla was succeeded in the Nabobship of Arcot, by Anwar ul Dien Chan; who, according to the accounts of some suspicious Asiatics, was said to have made away with his predecessor in office. There was, however, no reasonable foundation for this suspicion. He was descended of one of the noblest of the Mogul families and remarkable for his justice and moderation. At once a soldier and a scholar, he was fitted both for the field and cabinet. His talents procured to him the government of the Carnatic; he

he made different pilgrimages to Mecca, which made him as much revered for his piety, as he was esteemed for his abilities. He died in arms, at the age of eighty, in defending his dominions against the enemies of Great Britain. A.D. 1741.

The Nizam in this absolute manner disposed of the provinces of the Decan, without the concurrence of the court, and actually became king of that country, though he never assumed that title. In the mean time, the Nizam's son, Ghazi ul Dien, overawed the emperor at Delhi, and left that indolent prince no more than the mere shadow of royalty. Becomes independent.

Whilst the Decan, that great limb of the Mogul empire, was cut off by the Nizam, Aliverdi Chan usurped the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. This fellow was once a common soldier, who, together with his brother Flamed, came from Tartary in quest of service to Delhi. In that city they continued for some time in the service of the famous Dowran; and afterwards became menial servants to Suja Chan, nabob of Cattaek. Suja Chan, after the death of Jassier, succeeded to the government of the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The two Tartars, being possessed of good natural parts and some education, rose gradually into office, and were greatly favoured by the nabob. Flamed had, in a manner, become his prime minister, and, by his political intrigues in the Haram, obtained the place of Naib, or deputy of the province of Behar, for his brother Aliverdi, who was then a captain of horse. Aliverdi was not long established in his high employ, when he began to tamper with the venal ministry of Delhi, for a separate commission for the province, which he then held of Suja Chan. Money, which has great influence in every country, is all powerful Revolt in Bengal.

A.D. 1741. ful in Hindostan. Aliverdi strengthened his solicitations with a round sum, and, by the means of the captain-general Dowran, became independent suba of Behar.

Suja Chan dying soon after, was succeeded in the subaship of Bengal by his son Sirfaraz. We do not mean to insinuate, that he had any right of inheritance to his father's government, or that the subadary had been established in his family by any grant of the crown, which was contrary to the established laws of the empire: but the imperial authority was now so weak, that the nabobs took upon themselves to bequeath the governments to their sons, who were afterwards, through a fatal necessity, generally confirmed from Delhi.

Sirfaraz, being a man of a haughty and impetuous disposition, soon lost the affection of all his officers. He disgraced Hamed, and tarnished the honor of the powerful family of those opulent merchants, the Jagga Seat, by a foolish act of power. Hamed, however, took advantage of the disaffection to Sirfaraz's government. He formed a conspiracy against the nabob, and invited his brother Aliverdi to invade Bengal. Aliverdi accordingly marched from Patna, in the month of Ramzan 1154, and entering Bengal, defeated and killed Sirfaraz, at Geriah, near Muxadabad, and, without further opposition, became suba of the three provinces.

The weak emperor, instead of chastising the usurper with an army from Delhi, fell upon an expedient, at once disgraceful and impolitic. The Mahrattors threatened Mahommed for the Chout, which, before the Persian invasion, he had promised to pay them; and he gave them a commission to raise it themselves upon

Impolitic
behaviour
of the em-
peror.

upon the revolted provinces. The Suu * Raja, A. D. 1742. the chief of the Mahrattors, sent accordingly an army of 50000 horse, from his capital of Sattara, to invade Bengal. This force, under the conduct of Boscar Pundit, ravaged, with fire and sword, all those districts which lie to the west of the Ganges.

Aliverdi, who was a brave soldier, defended himself with great resolution. But he owed more to his villainy than to his arms. Having found means to assassinate the leader of the Mahrattors, he forced them to retreat.—When the news of the murder reached the ears of the Suu Raja, he ordered two other armies into Bengal; one by the way of Behar, and another by that of Cattack. The first was commanded by Balla Raw, and the latter by Ragojee.—Aliverdi, not being able to cope with this great force in the field, had recourse to art. He sowed dissension between the two chiefs; set a private treaty on foot with Balla Raw; who, having received two years Chout, evacuated the provinces, leaving his colleague to make the best terms he could for himself. The scale was now turned against the Mahrattors: Ragojee retreated to Cattack, and, with constant incursions and sly parties, greatly harassed the provinces. The good fortune of Aliverdi at length prevailed, and he saw himself independent sovereign of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa: though, to quiet the minds of the people, he pretended to possess grants from the court, which he himself had actually forged.

We have been purposely succinct on the manner in which the Decan and Bengal were dismembered from the empire, as the facts are

Aliverdi
Chandur
the govern-
ment of
Bengal, &c.

* Suu, in the Shanscritta language, signifies *Glorious*.

A. D. 1744. already pretty well known in Europe. We return, now, to the affairs of the interior provinces. This subject has hitherto been touched by no writer, and very few Europeans in Asia have made any considerable enquiries concerning it.

Affairs at
court.

During these transactions, nothing happened at Delhi, but the intrigues and factions of a weak and corrupt administration. In the year 1157, Ali Mahummud, a Patan of the Rohilla tribe, Zemindar of Bangur and Awla, began to appear in arms. Ali was a soldier of fortune, and a native of the mountains of Cabulistan, who, some years before his rebellion, came to Delhi, with about three hundred followers of his own tribe, and was entertained in the imperial service. Being esteemed a gallant officer, the command of a small district, upon the road between Delhi and Lahore, was conferred upon him; where he entertained all vagrants of his own clan, who came down in quest of military service, from their native mountains. In this manner Ali expended all the rents of his district, and he was hard pressed for the payment of the crown's proportion of his income, by the fojedar of Muradabad, to whom he was accountable.

Hernind, the fojedar, despairing to get any part of the revenue from Ali, by fair means, prepared to use force. He raised 15000 of his own vassals, with a design to expel or chastise the refractory Zemindar. Ali, by the assistance of his northern friends, who lived upon him, defeated Hernind, with great slaughter, and thus laid the foundation of the Rohilla government, now so formidable in Hindostan.

Kimmir, the vizier, upon receiving intelligence at Delhi of this blow to the regal authority, dispatched his own son, the noble Munnu, a youth

a youth of great bravery, with an army of 30000, A D. 1745. against the rebels. Munnu, crossing the Jumna, advanced to a place called Gurmuchisher, on the banks of the Ganges, and found that Ali had acquired so much strength since his late victory, that he feared the issue of an engagement. A negotiation, therefore, was set on foot, and, after the armies had lain three months in sight of one another, a treaty was concluded. The conditions were, that Ali should keep possession of the countries, formerly comprehended in the government of Hernind, upon paying the ancient revenues to the crown, and that, in the mean time, one year's payment should be advanced in four months.

After this treaty was ratified, Munnu returned to Delhi: but the appointed time elapsed, without any payments on the part of Ali. He continued to strengthen himself, annexed more districts to his government, and ravaged the neighbouring countries to subsist his army. He, in short, became formidable enough to rouse the indolent emperor from his lethargy. That monarch took the field, with fifty or sixty thousand horse, and in the year 1158, crossed the Jumna.

Ali, upon the king's approach, retreated across the Ganges, and shut himself in Bangur, a place of some strength, where the imperial army invested him. Rebels
quelled The rebel, for the first two nights, made successful sallies, and killed many in the imperial camp. The king, however, having drawn lines of circumvallation round the fort, after a short but bloody siege, obliged the garrison to capitulate. Ali made terms for his own life, and he was brought prisoner to Delhi, where he remained in confinement for six months.

The

A. D. 1746. The Patan chiefs, who were always, in private, enemies to the government of the Moguls, casting their eyes upon Ali, as a very proper person to raise their own interest, solicited the emperor for his release. The weak monarch granted their request; but the Patans, not yet satisfied, obtained for Ali the *fojedarship* of Sirhind.— This was such wretched policy, in the court of Delhi, that nothing but downright infatuation, folly, and the last degree of corruption in the ministry, could ever have permitted it to take place. The consequence was, that Ali collected his dispersed tribe, kept possession of Sirhind, of several districts between the rivers and beyond the Ganges, without remitting one roupee to court.

Achmet
Abdalla.

We have already seen, that all the provinces to the north-west of the Indus were ceded to Nadir Shaw. When that conqueror was assassinated in Persia, Achmet Abdalla, a native of Herat, who had raised himself in his service, from the office of Chobdar, or mace-bearer, to that of Chazanchi, or treasurer, found means, with the assistance of his own tribe, in the confusion which succeeded the Shaw's death, to carry off three hundred camels loaded with wealth, to the mountains of Afganistan. This treasure enabled Abdalla to raise an army, and to possess himself by degrees of the districts of the mountains, Herat, part of Chorraflan, and all the provinces ceded by the crown of Hindostan to the king of Persia. Thus Abdalla laid the foundation of an empire, in those countries, which formerly composed the great monarchy of Ghizni.

Intrudes the
empire;

Abdalla, perceiving the declining state of the Mogul government in Hindostan, crossed the Nilab, the ancient Hydaspes, one of the branches of

of the Indus, in the beginning of the year 1160, A.D. 1747. and raising contributions upon his march, advanced towards Delhi, with 50000 horse. The poor Delhians were struck with universal panic. ✓ The king himself was sick; and there were distractions in the councils of the ministers. The pressure of the danger cemented all their differences. Ahmed Shaw, the prince royal, Kimmir, the vizier. Seid Sullabit, and Seisdar Jung, took the field, with 80000 horse, and marched to oppose the invader.

The imperial army left Delhi upon the 18th of ^{is opposed.} Sisser, and advanced to a place called Minoura, twenty miles beyond Sirhind, Abdalla's army ✓ were here in sight; and both, afraid of the issue of a battle, strongly entrenched themselves. In this situation they remained for thirty days; sometimes skirmishing, and at other times negotiating; but the Mogul prince having no money to give, Abdalla would not retreat.

Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to advance some pieces of artillery, which bore upon the flank of the imperial army. In the evening the vizier, being at prayers, received a shot in the knee, and died that night. ^{The vizier killed.} As he was very much esteemed by the army, which in reality he commanded, though the prince bore the name, it was proposed to Ahmed Shaw, by Munnu, the vizier's son, to conceal his death, lest the troops, who depended upon his courage and capacity, should be affected by that accident. The prince, seeing the propriety of this measure, called together a few of his principal omrahs, and held a council of war. It was resolved, that the body of the vizier should be mounted upon his own elephant, in the howadar, supported with pillows; and that in the morning, by day-break, they should issue out of the camp and engage the enemy.

Orders

A D. 1747.

Policy of
his son.

Orders were accordingly given that night to the omrahs, to hold their troops in readiness, and their respective stations appointed to each. In the morning, before day, the imperial army was in motion; but Abdalla, having previous notice of their intentions, had prepared to receive them in his camp. The young prince Ahmed led the attack with uncommon bravery, and was gallantly seconded by Munnu; who performed surprizing feats of personal valor.—The Persian defended himself with equal resolution, for the space of three hours. At length, his entrenchments were trodden down by the elephants, and the imperial army poured into his camp.

A battle.

An unfortunate circumstance, at this instant, totally changed the face of affairs. Iffur Singh, the son of Joy Singh, the Indian prince of Ajmere, who commanded twenty thousand horse, rode up to the vizier's elephant for orders, and discovered that he was dead. Iffur Singh was naturally a coward, and only wanted an excuse to hide his head from danger. He turned immediately his face from the field, and was followed by all his troops. The flight of so great a part of the army draw many after them, particularly Seifdar Jung, governor of Oud, and father of the present Souja ul Dowlat. Abdalla not only recovered his troops from their confusion, but pressed hard upon the imperialists in his turn. Munnu, upon this urgent occasion, displayed all the bravery of a young hero, together with all the conduct of an old general. He formed in a column, and encouraging his troops, by words and example, bent his whole force against Abdalla's center. He, at the same time, dispatched a messenger to Iffur Singh and Seifdar Jung, assuring them that Abdalla was already defeated,

and

and if they would return and assist him in the pursuit, he would permit none of them ever to repass the Indus. The stratagem had the desired effect. They returned in full gallop to the field, and renewed the charge with great vigour. A. D. 1747.

Abdalla, having almost assured himself of the victory, was, by this unexpected check, thrown into great confusion. Munnu took immediate advantage of the enemy's consternation, drove them off the field, and pursued them ten miles beyond their camp. The loss was nearly equal on both sides; but a complete victory remained to the Moguls; for which they were entirely indebted to the surprising efforts of Munnu. Abdalla defeated,

A single defeat was not enough to discharge Abdalla, who was a brave officer. He collected his discomfited army, disgraced some of his chief omrahs, conferred their rank and honours upon others, rewarded those who had behaved well, and with his sword drawn, riding through and through his troops, encouraged them again to action. The Moguls were not a little surprized, next morning, to see Abdalla, whom they prepared to pursue, with his army drawn up in order of battle before their camp.—This uncommon confidence in a defeated enemy, threw a damp upon the courage of the conquerors. They contented themselves with forming the line, and with standing in expectation of the charge.—Abdalla, as the prince had some advantage of ground, at the same time declined coming to action, and, in the evening, encamped at a small distance. His undaunted behaviour,

The second day was spent in skirmishes, and a distant cannonade: but, upon the third, to use a Persian expression, the interval of battle was closed, and the shock was very violent. Though irregular armies of horse make little impression upon a solid body of well-disciplined infantry; A second battle.

A.D. 1747. infantry; yet when they engage one another, upon equal terms, each trusts to the strength of his own arm, and the battle is in general extremely bloody. This irregular kind of attack, it must be allowed, requires a greater degree of personal courage, where man to man is opposed, than to stand wedged in a close battalion, where the danger may indeed be as great, but not so apparent.

Abdalla
again de-
feated.

The young prince Ahmed distinguished himself in a particular manner in this action; and Munnu, tenacious of the glory he had already acquired, was not to be resisted. Abdalla, after an obstinate resistance, was again driven off the field, and pursued across the Suttuluz. Here Abdalla, in spite of his misfortunes, like an able and gallant commander, put the best face upon his affairs. He had lost all his artillery and baggage, and being now less incumbered than the imperial army, he made a forced march, and, taking a circuit to the right, repassed the river, and next day, to the astonishment of the prince and Munnu, was heard of thirty-six miles in the rear, in full march towards Delhi.

Turns the
rear of the
imperial
army.

Intelligence of Abdalla's march being received in the capital, every thing fell into the utmost confusion, and a general panic prevailed. Ghazi ul Dien, the Nizam's son, being at court, collected what forces he could, and marched out of the city to oppose Abdalla. The enemy hearing of this army in their front, would proceed no further. His troops, with one voice, told Abdalla, That, before they advanced towards Delhi, it was necessary to defeat the imperial army which was behind them. He was therefore constrained to march back towards the prince and Munnu, who expected a third battle: but Abdalla thought it prudent to decline it; and, by

by night, repassed the Moguls, and continued his route to Lahore. A.D. 1747.

A change of affairs at the court of Delhi hap- Affairs at
Delhi.
pening at this time, prevented the princee and Munnu from pursuing Abdalla. They encamped on the banks of the Suttuluz, where Ahmed Shaw proposed to confer the subaship of Lahore upon any of his omrah who would undertake to recover it from Abdalla. After this offer had been declined by all of them, it was accepted upon these terms by Munnu; who, with a division of the army, marched towards Lahore, while Ahmed returned with the rest to Delhi. The emperor had an inviolable friendship for his vizier, Kimmir ul Dien. In the tottering state of the regal authority, all his confidence was reposed in that minister. When therefore the news of Kimmir's death came to him at Delhi, he immediately considered his own affairs as desperate. He retired to a private apartment, and wept bitterly all night. In the morning he mounted the throne as usual, to give public audience; and, whilst every flattering courtier was running out in praise of the deceased, the emperor seemed much affected. He, at last, exclaimed: "O cruel fate! thus to break the staff of my old age.—Where now shall I find so faithful a servant?"—With these words he fell into a fit, to which he was sometimes subject, and expired sitting upon his throne.

The death of Mahommed happened upon the 8th of the second Ribbi, in the 1160 year of the Higera, after a disastrous reign of thirty years. The court endeavoured to conceal his death till his son princee Ahmed should arrive. He accordingly, upon the 7th day after his father's decease, entered Delhi; being sent for by express from Ghazi ul Dien, who was supposed by the ignorant vulgar, always ready to ascribe sudden deaths Death of
the emperor
to

A.D. 1747. to violence, to have made away with the emperor.

His character.

MAHOMMED was remarkably comely; of a stately stature and affable deportment. He was no small proficient in the learning of his country; and he wrote the Arabic and Persian languages with the greatest elegance and propriety. He was personally brave; but the easiness and equality of his temper made his actions appear undecisive and irresolute. Good natured to a fault, he forgave, in others, crimes which his own soul would abhor to commit; and thus he permitted his authority to become a victim to an ill-judged clemency. Naturally indolent and diffident of his own abilities, his mind perpetually fluctuated from one object to another. His passions therefore took no determined course of their own; but were easily diverted into any channel, by whatever person was near him.—“The soul of Mahommed” said a Mogul who knew him well, “was like the waters of a lake, easily agitated by any storm, but which settle immediately after the winds are laid.” If his easiness or irresolution in politicks led him into many errors, he bore with indifference, if not with fortitude, the misfortunes which were their natural consequence.

Born in the sunshine of a court, brought up in the bosom of luxury, confined within the walls of a zennana, and, in a manner, educated among eunuchs, as effeminate as those whom they guard, we are not to wonder that the princes of the East should degenerate in a few generations. If to these obstructions to the exertion of the manly faculties of the soul, we add the natural lenity of Mahommed, an amiable but unfortunate virtue in the race of Timur, it ought not to surprize us, that in a country like India, his reign should be crowded with uncommon misfortunes.

Had his fate placed Mahommed in Europe, where established laws supply the want of parts in a monarch, he might have slumbered with reputation upon a throne; and left behind him the character of a good, though not of a great, prince.

A H M E D.

A.D. 1747.

Ahmed
mounts the
throne.

UPON the 17th of the second Ribbi, in the year 1160 of the Higerā, which answered to the year 1747 of the Christian æra, AH SHAW, the son of Mahommed, mounted the throne of Delhi. The first act of this reign was the appointment of Seifdar Jung, the solute suba of Oud, to the vizarīt. This man was originally a merchant of Persia, known there by the name of Abul Munfur. He travelled to India to sell his commodities; and was retained there as an accomptant, by the father of Sadit, governor of Oud. He behaved so well to his master's satisfaction in that station, that he advanced him to a command in the army and conferred upon him his daughter in marriage. His alliance with Sadit so much increased his interest at the court of Delhi, that, on the death of his father-in-law, he was raised to the subaship of Oud. Though he was a bad soldier, such was the smoothness of his tongue and plausibility of behaviour, that he passed upon the weak as a man of confidence and parts; which, together with some knowledge in the finances, paved his way to the office of vizier. Ghazi ul Dien continued master and captain-general, and no other material changes in the administration happened till the accession of Ahmed.

The war with Abdalla, which was now car-
ried on in Punjab by Munnu with various success, A.D. 1747. Affairs of the provinces and death of the Nizam.
ingrossed the attention of the court of Delhi;
for the greatest part of the imperial army
was employed in that service. Advices, in the
mean time, arrived from the Decan, of the
death of the famous Nizam ul muluck, in the
one hundred and fourth year of his age; and
that his second son, Nasir Jung, acceded to the
government. It may not, perhaps, be out of
place here, to give a short sketch of the charac-
ter of the Nizam, who for a long time made so
great a figure in India.

The Nizam, though no great warrior, was His character.
reckoned a consummate politician, in a country
where low craft and deceit, without any princi-
ples of honor and integrity, obtain the appellation
of great parts. The dark designs of his mind lay
always concealed behind an uncommon plausibil-
ity and eloquence of tongue. His passions were
so much under his command, that he was never
known to discover any violent emotion even
upon the most critical and dangerous occasions:
but this apathy did not arise from fortitude, but
from deep dissimulation and design. It was
with him an unalterable maxim, to use stratagem
rather than force; and to bring about with pri-
vate treachery, what even could be accomplished
with open force. He so habituated himself to
villainy, that the whole current of his soul ran in
that channel; and it was even doubtful whether
he could for a moment divert it to honesty, to
bring about his most favored designs. If the Ni-
zam shewed any tendency to virtue, it was by
substituting a lesser wickedness for a greater.
When fraud and circunvention could accom-
plish his purpose, he never used the dagger or
bowl. To sum up his character in a few words;
without

A. D. 1748. without shame, he was perfidious to all mankind; without remorse, a traitor to his king and country; and, without terror, a hypocrite in the presence of his god †.

Succeeded
by Nasir
Jung.

When the news of the Nizam's death came to Delhi, Ghazi ul Dien, who was his eldest son, applied to the king for his government. But Nasir Jung, being possessed of his father's treasure, raised a great army, and marched from Aurungabad towards Delhi; not on pretence of war, but to pay his respects to the emperor. Ahmed dreaded nothing more than this ceremonious visit from a man at the head of so great a force. He judged that Nasir Jung, under that specious pretext, covered a design to extort from him a confirmation of the subadary of the Decan. He therefore durst not favor the pretensions of Ghazi to the provinces of the Decan, and consequently was reduced to the necessity of confirming Nasir Jung in his usurpation. Thus the storm was diverted, and the new Nizam returned to Aurungabad.

Affairs of
the provin-
ces.

In the year 1161, Caim Chan Bunguish, who possessed Ferochabad, in Jagier, having differed with Ali, a neighbouring Zemindar, they both drew out their vassals and dependents, and fought about twenty miles above Ferochabad, and Caim Chan was defeated and slain. Seifdar Jung, the vizier, being informed of these transactions, sent orders to the Indian prince Nevil Roy, his deputy in the province of Oûd, to confiscate the estate of Caim Chan. The deputy rigorously excuted the vizier's orders. He seized

† Nasir Jung, the Nizam's son, having rebelled, was at the head of a great army. The deceitful old man counterfeited sickness so well, and wrote such pathetic letters to Nasir, requesting to see him before he died, that the young fellow was taken in the snare, visited his father, and was imprisoned.

upon

upon Caim Chan's five sons, together with five A. D. 1749. of his adopted slaves, confined and afterwards assassinated them at Allahabad. Ahmed Chan, another son of Caim Chan, remained still alive; and, in order to revenge the death of his brothers, raised the Patan tribe, of which he was now acknowledged chief, and marched against Nevil Roy, who had collected all his forces to oppose him.

In the beginning of the year 1162, the two Imperial army defeated. armies met at a place near Lucknow, called Callinuddi. The Patans were scarcely four thousand strong; but the army of the deputy of Oud consisted of at least twenty thousand. The Patan chief, inspired with revenge, and vigorously supported by his friends, attacked in person Nevil Roy in the very center of his army, and slew his enemy with his own hand. The army of Nevil Roy, seeing him fall, immediately quitted the field. Their artillery and baggage, and soon after almost the whole province of Oud, fell into the victor's hands.

When the news of this disaster arrived at Expedition of the vizier. Delhi, Seifdar Jung, the vizier, talked in a very high strain, and requested of the emperor, that he might be permitted to lead an army against Ahmed Chan. The sultan consented; but the season being far spent before the army was levied, the expedition was deferred till the solstitial rains should be over. In the month of Mohirrim, 1163, the vizier, with an army of eighty thousand men, marched from Delhi; and, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, put all the Patans he could find to the sword. Ahmed Chan was not intimidated by this great force. With scarce twelve thousand men he marched from Ferochabad, and met the imperialists at Shuru Sahawir, near that city.

The

A. D. 1749. The day happened to be very windy, and
 He is over- Ahmed improved that circumstance to his own
 thrown. advantage. He wheeled to windward, and the
 dust flew in such clouds in the face of the imperial army, that they did not discover the motions of Ahmed; but ascribed the darkness which involved themselves to the effects of a whirlwind, common at that season of the year. The enemy, however, like a thunderbolt, issued from the bosom of this storm, and at once struck the Moguls with terror and dismay. The Patans made such good use of their swords, that they soon covered the field with dead, and the cowardly Seifdar Jung, without making one effort, was the first of his army who fled. The Jates and Rohillas, though thus shamefully deserted by their general, made head against Ahmed, and found means to carry off the greatest part of the artillery, which consisted of twelve hundred pieces of various bores. But neither of those tribes returned the guns to the king: they carried them to their own forts, to strengthen themselves against his authority.

A dreadful
 stroke to
 the empire,

This overthrow was a dreadful stroke to the tottering empire. The greatest part of the province of Oud was lost; the Jates, a numerous tribe of Hindoos, who possessed a large territory near Agra: and the Rohillas, a Patan nation, who inhabited the greatest part of the country between Delhi and Lucknow, seeing the whole imperial force baffled by a petty chief, began to throw off their allegiance. Seifdar Jung, in the mean time, arrived with a small part of his army at Delhi; and Ghazi advised the king to put him to death for the disgrace which he had drawn upon his arms. This punishment would not have been too severe for the vizier's bad behaviour: but that minister had strengthened his interest

terest by a coalition with Juncid Chan, the chief eunuch. A.D. 1752.

The queen-mother, Begum Kudsia, being a woman of gallantry, had, for want of a better lover, fixed her affection upon the chief eunuch. She had the address to direct the weak monarch in every thing, and to keep him in leading-strings upon the throne. Juncid Chan, though in no public employ, by means of Kudsia's favor, held the helm of government; and, by his influence, not only saved the vizier's life, but continued him in his office.

In the course of the same year, a treaty was concluded with the Mahrattors, who were spreading their devastations over the southern provinces. The Chout was stipulated to be regularly paid by the empire to those troublesome barbarians. The emperor ordered an army to be levied, to recover the province of Oud; and it was soon completed by the accession of forty thousand Mahrattors, who enlisted themselves in the imperial service. But instead of putting himself at the head of his forces, the weak emperor, by the advice of his mother and her gallant, gave the command of it to his vizier, that he might have an opportunity to retrieve his lost honour.

Sourage Mull, prince of the Jates, by the acquisition of the Mahrattors to the imperial army, judged it prudent once more to join the vizier with all his forces; so that the minister's army now consisted of no less than one hundred thousand men. Seisdar Jung marched from Delhi, in the year 1164, against Ahmed Chan: but the Raja of the Jates, instead of aiding him, found means to frustrate all his designs. Having spent a whole campaign without coming to action, he patched up a very dishonourable peace, and returned to Delhi with the Mahrattor mercenaries.

In effect of the Queen-mother saves the vizier

Tibare paid to the Mahrattors

Inactivity of the vizier

A.D. 1750. ries at his heels, mutinous for want of their pay.

The Nizam's eldest son pays the arrears of the Mahrattors.

The demand of the Mahrattors amounted to fifty lacks of roupees, which the government was in no condition to pay: and the sum gradually increased with the delay. Ghazi ul Dien, who had been for some time soliciting for a royal commission for the subaship of the Decan, promised to pay off the Mahrattor debt, upon condition he should receive from the emperor that appointment. Ahmed was glad upon any terms to get rid of those clamorous and dangerous mercenaries, and accordingly issued out the imperial funnuds to Ghazi. That Omrah having satisfied the Mahrattors in their demands upon Ahmed, engaged them immediately in his own service; and having added to them a great army of other troops, obtained his own office of captain-general for his son Ghazi, a youth of fifteen years of age, and marched towards the Decan.

Sillabut Jung poisoned Ghazi.

The elder Ghazi's brother, Nasir Jung, suba of the Decan, and his son Muziffer, who had succeeded him in the government, were both dead. Sillabut Jung, the third son of the old Nizam, now sat upon the Musnud, which Ghazi claimed by the right of primogeniture. In the month of Zehidge, 1165, he, with an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men, arrived in the environs of Aurungabad. The forces of his brother, Sillabut Jung, the reigning suba, were somewhat inferior in number, but they were strengthened by a body of French mercenaries, which, in all probability, would insure to him the victory. Sillabut Jung, however, was afraid of the issue of a general battle; and, after some slight skirmishes, he found means to prevail with his uncle's wife to take off his competitor with poison. Thus did the perfidious Sillabut Jung secure

secure to himself the empire of the Decan, with-
out a rival. A. D. 1752.

But to return to the transactions of the court Affairs at
court.
of Delhi: Seifdar Jung, the vizier, finding that
his own influence declined, and that Juncid Chan,
the favourite eunuch, carried all before him,
invited him to an entertainment, and contrary
to the laws of hospitality, and altogether forget-
ful that he owed to Juncid his own life and for-
tune, assassinated him by the hands of Ismaiel,
one of his adopted slaves. The emperor, being
informed of this presumptuous villainy, flew into
a violent rage, degraded Seifdar Jung from the
vizarit, and banished him the court. This was
the effect of a fit of passion; for the unfortunate
monarch was in no condition, in fact, to exert
so far his authority. The perfidious vizier,
finding that he had nothing to hope from submis-
sion, broke out into open rebellion. He soon
after, by the assistance of the Jates, advanced to
Delhi, and besieged the emperor and young
Ghazi, his captain-general, in that city.

The son of Kiumir ul Dien, who in the reign A. D. 1751-
52.
of Mahommed, held so long the vizarit, was
raised, under the title of Chan Chanan, or first of
the nobles, to the vacant employ of Seifdar
Jung, and began to shew some abilities in his new
office. Young Ghazi, who was a youth of ex-
traordinary parts, defended the city with great
resolution for three months. The rebels were at
last so dispirited, that Ghazi ventured to attack
them in the field, and gained a complete victory.
Seifdar Jung fled towards his former subaship of
Oud, and left his allies, the Jates, under their
prince, Sourage Mull, to extricate themselves
from the perilous situation to which he had
brought them.

The

A. D. 1752.

The old vizier's rebellion.

The rebellion of Seifdar Jung happened in the year 1166. The Jates being deserted by him, were in no condition to keep the field against Ghazi. They fled before the imperial army under Akebut Mahmood, to their own territories near Agra. That general invested the strong forts of Billemgur, which he took by capitulation; but so little did he regard his plighted faith to the garrison, that he put them all to the sword. The Jates, in the mean time, came before the imperial army; but dissident of their own strength in the field, they separated their forces, and shut themselves up in their forts. The imperial general also divided his army into detachments, and laid at once siege to the two strong forts of Dieg and Combere, lying in the territory between Agra and Delhi.

Young Ghazi attacks the Jates.

Ghazi, in the mean time, to carry on more effectually the war against the Jates, obtained permission from the emperor, to call in forty thousand Mahrattors, under their two chiefs, Malhar Raw, and Raganut Raw. By this acquisition of strength, the imperialists were enabled to carry on the sieges with vigor. At Delhi, young Ghazi and the new vizier contended for the command of the army. This contest was afterwards fatal in its consequences; but for the present Ghazi prevailed. He marched with a reinforcement from Delhi; and, upon his arrival in the country of the Jates, took the command of the imperial army.

Affairs at court.

The sieges continued two months after the arrival of Ghazi, and the garrisons were reduced to the last extremities. The imperialists, in the mean time, had expended all their ammunition; and Ghazi was, upon that account, obliged to dispatch Akebut Mahmood to Delhi, with a good force, to bring him the necessary stores. The vizier seeing that the strong holds of the Jates must

must soon fall into the hands of Ghazi, should he be supplied with ammunition, and being extremely jealous of any thing that might throw honor upon his rival, poisoned the mind of the weak king against his captain-general, by means of forged letters and villainous insinuations, that the young omrah aspired to the throne. The enterprising genius, and great abilities of Ghazi, gave some colour to suspicions of that kind; and the unfortunate Ahmed, instead of promoting his own cause against the Jates, took every measure to prevent the success of Ghazi. A. D. 1752.

The king accordingly began to levy forces in Delhi, and wrote a letter to Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates, to make an obstinate defence, and that he himself would soon relieve him: that under pretence of joining the army under Ghazi, he would attack that general in the rear, and at the same time display a signal to the Indian prince, to fall from the fort of Combere.— Thus the king, as if infatuated by his evil genius, planned his own ruin. His letter fell into the hands of Ghazi, whose friends at court had informed him of the intrigues of the vizier. Struck with the king's ingratitude, and urged on by self-defence, he immediately resolved upon open hostility. He raised the sieges, and crossed the Jumna, to oppose Ahmed and his vizier, who were marching down between the rivers. The emperor levies forces against Ghazi.

The king, hearing of Ghazi's approach, halted at Secundra, and endeavoured, by fair promises, to bring back that omrah to his duty. Ghazi, in answer to the king's message, returned to him his own letter to Sourage Mull. He wrote him, at the same time, that "he could place no confidence in a man, who plotted against his life, for no crime; if to serve the state was not one. What mercy," continued Ghazi, "can I expect from Ahmed, in the days of rebellion," Who marches against him.

A. D. 1753. “ bellion, when he treated me as a traitor, in
 “ the times of loyalty and friendship? A prince,
 “ that is weak enough to listen to the base insi-
 “ nuations of every sycophant, is unworthy to
 “ rule over brave men; who, by the laws of
 “ God and nature, are justified to use the power
 “ which providence has placed in their hands, to
 “ protect themselves from injustice.”

Emperor's
 flight, and
 deposition.

The king perceived, by the strain of this letter, that Ghazi was resolved to push him to the last extremity. He, however, durst not engage him in the field. He made the best of his way to Delhi, and was so closely pursued by Ghazi, that that omrah possessed himself of one of the gates; upon which Ahmed and the vizier shut themselves up, with a small party, in the citadel. Ghazi immediately invested the place; and the king, after a faint resistance, surrendered himself. Ghazi, after reproaching him for his intentions against his life, committed him and the vizier to the charge of Akebut Mahmood. The unfortunate sultan was deprived of sight, the next day, by the means of an hot iron. It is said, by some, that this was done by Akebut Mahmood, without orders, to shew his zeal for the service of his patron; but, from the general character of Ghazi, we have no reason to doubt his being concerned in the crime.

His charac-
 ter.

Thus ended the reign of the unfortunate Ahmed Shaw: a prince, who, in his first exploits, appeared with some lustre. When he mounted the throne, as if action degraded royalty, he altogether gave himself up to indolence. To save the trouble of thinking, he became the dupe of every specious flatterer, and at last fell the unlamented victim of his own folly. He possessed all the clemency of the house of Timur; but that virtue was now, in some measure, a vice, in a country so corrupt, and in an age so degenerate.

rate. Though Ahmed was not defective in personal courage, he may truly be said to be a coward in mind: dangers appeared formidable to him, through a troubled imagination, which, upon trial, he had fortitude to surmount.—He sat upon the throne of Delhi seven lunar years and one month; and was deposed in the month of Jummâd ul awil, in the 1167 of the Hîgera.

The power and extent of the empire were very much diminished in the reign of Ahmed. All the provinces, except those between the frontiers of the Jates, a few miles to the east of Delhi, and Lahore to the west, were, in fact, dismembered from the government of the house of Timur, though they paid a nominal allegiance. The rich kingdom of Guzerat was divided between the Mahrattors and a Patan tribe, called Babbé; the Deccan was usurped by the Nizam ul muluck's family; Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by Aliverdi Chan, and his successors; Oud, by Seifdar Jung; Doab, by Ahmed Chan Bunguishi; Allahabad, by Mahommed Kuli; and the countries round Agra, by Raja Sourage Mull, the chief of the Jates.—Budjoun, and all the provinces to the north of Delhi, were in the hands of Mahommed Ali, Sadulla Chan, and other chiefs of the Rohilla tribe of Patans. A number of petty Rajas started up into independent princes in Malava: Bucht Singh seized upon the extensive territory of Marwar, and Madoo Singh reigned in the provinces round Joinagur and Amere.

The gallant Munnu still opposed the torrent of invasion from the north. He maintained the war with success, against Abdalla, for the provinces on the banks of the Indus, and, for a short space of time, supported the declining empire. Every petty chief, in the mean time, by counterfeited

Decayed
state of the
empire.

A.D. 1753. counterfeited grants from Delhi, laid claim to jagiers and to districts: the country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villainy was practised in every form; all law and religion were trodden under foot; the bonds of private friendships and connexions, as well as of society and government, were broken; and every individual, as if amidst a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm.

A L L U M G I R E II.

UPON the same day that Ahmed Shaw A. D. 1755. was deprived of sight, Ghazi ul Dien released from confinement Aurangze mounts the throne. Faz ul Dien, the son of Moaz ul Dien, and grandson of Bahadar Shaw, the son and successor of the famous Aurungzebe. This prince was placed by Ghazi upon the throne, by the name of ALLUMGIRI. To begin his reign with an act of beneficence, he ordered seventeen persons of the imperial house of Timur to be released from prison, to grace his coronation. It may not be improper here to say something concerning the inauguration of the Mogul emperors.

When a prince is, for the first time, seated upon the throne, with the royal umbrella over his head, the omrahs, according to their dignity, are ranged in two lines before, one upon his right, the other to his left hand. A herald then proclaims his titles; and the omrahs, each in his station, advance with an offering in gold, which he himself receives from their hands. The superintendant of the kitchen brings then a golden salver, with bread, confections, and other eatables, over which the king, joined by the whole court, repeats a form of grace; and then he eats a little, and distributes the remainder, with his own hand, among the nobility. This latter is an ancient Mogul ceremony, introduced by the family of Timur. The emperor mounts then his state-elephant, and, attended by all the court,

A. D. 1753. court, moves slowly towards the great Musgid, throwing, as he advances, gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, among the populace. In the Musgid he repeats a prayer, and afterwards divine service is performed by the Sidder ul suddûr, or the metropolitan of Delhi. The Chutba, or the genealogy and titles of the king, is then read, and he returns to the palace with the same magnificence and pomp. The Mogul emperors are never crowned : but upon some festivals they sit in state, under a large golden crown, which is suspended by a chain to the roof of the presence-chamber, and serves the purpose of a canopy.

Wretched
state of the
emperor. { Allumgire found himself as much a prisoner upon the throne, as he was formerly in his confinement. He was not a man of parts sufficient to extricate himself from the toils of that power, to which he owed his advancement ; but had he made no efforts to acquire some authority, the empire might have been, perhaps, restored to its original dignity and splendor, by the very extraordinary abilities of Ghazi ul Dien.—That omrah now possessed the office of the vizarit. Allumgire, without the capacity of guiding the operations of government himself, began to turn all his mean parts to thwart the schemes of the minister. Without considering whether the measure was right or wrong, it was sufficient that it came from the vizier, for the emperor to oppose it by his minions.

Inactivity
in court.

This aversion in the king to Ghazi, did not long escape the penetrating eyes of that young omrah. He knew that he was surrounded by many enemies, and therefore was unwilling to resign an employ, from which he derived protection to his own person. In the mean time all business was suspended, and the two factions, like armies afraid of the issue of a battle, watched the motions of
one

one another.—Nothing remarkable happened at A. D. 1754. Delhi, during the first year of Allungire, but the assassination of the former vizier, about six months after his imprisonment, by the orders of Ghazi.

But, in the course of this year, the empire re- Death of Munnu. ceived a severe blow on its frontiers, by the death of the gallant Munnu, by a fall from his horse. He had, in many engagements, defeated Abdalla, and recovered from him the whole province of Lahore. No sooner was this brave omrah dead, than Abdalla re-conquered all he had lost; and, advancing to Lahore, confirmed his son, then an infant, in the government of that place, under the tuition of an experienced omrah.

The great success of Abdalla, in the north- The prince royal sent against Abdalla. west, began to rouse the court of Delhi. It was at last resolved, that Ali Gohar*, Allungire's eldest son, should, in conjunction with Ghazi ul Dien, the vizier, march with the imperial army against the Persians. The treasury was now empty; and the few provinces, subject to the empire, were grievously oppressed for money to raise a force for this expedition. In the beginning of the year 1769, the imperial army, consisting of 80000 men, under the prince and young Ghazi, took the field. They advanced to a place called Matchiwarra, about twenty crores beyond Sirhind. They found Abdalla so well established in his new conquests, that they thought it prudent to proceed no farther. The whole campaign passed in settling a treaty of marriage, between the vizier and the daughter of Munnu.

* The present emperor.

A.D. 1755. It seems that omrah, to strengthen his interest at the court of Delhi, had, before his death, promised his daughter to Ghazi; but, after that event, both the young lady and her mother were extremely averse to the match. When the imperial army lay at Matchiwarra, the vizier inveigled both the ladies from Lahore to the camp, and finding all intreaty was in vain to obtain their consent, he, with peculiar baseness, closely confined them, to intimidate them into a compliance. This together with oppressing the provinces, through which he marched, comprehended the whole exploits of Ghazi on this expedition. After spending all the public money in this vain parade, the prince and vizier, without striking a blow, returned to Delhi.

Cause of the inaction of the imperial army. The cause of this inaction of the vizier proceeded from advices which he daily received from court. The king and his faction gained strength during his absence; and he foresaw his own ruin, in case he should meet with a defeat from Abdalla. Upon his return to Delhi, he found it necessary, in order to support his declining authority, to act with great rigor and tyranny. Some omrahs he removed with the dagger, and others he deprived of their estates. He confined the king in the citadel, and did whatsoever he pleased, as if he himself was vested with the regal dignity.

Emperor applies to Abdalla, Allumgire, finding himself in this disagreeable situation, adopted a very dangerous plan to extricate himself. He wrote privately to Abdalla, to advance with his army, to relieve him from the hands of his treacherous vizier. He promised, that upon his arrival in the environs of Delhi, he should be joined by the bulk of the imperial army, under the command of Nigibul

ul Dowla, a Rohilla chief, to whom Ghazi had A. D. 1757. delegated his own office of bucklhi, when he rose to the employ of vizier. Thus the weak Allumgire, to avoid one evil, plunged headlong into greater misfortunes.

Abdalla, having received these assurances from who march-
es to Delhi. the king, marched from Cabul, where he then kept his court, entered Hindostan with a great army, and, in the year 1171, appeared before Delhi. The vizier marched out with the imperial forces to give him battle; but, in the field he was deserted by his friend, Nigib ul Dowla, with the greatest part of his army. The ignorance of Ghazi of a plot so long carried on, is a great proof of his extreme unpopularity. The consequence was, that he was obliged to throw himself upon the clemency of Abdalla, who had sworn vengeance against him, should he ever fall into his hands. But such was the address of the vizier, that he not only found means to mollify the Persian, but even to make him his friend. He was, however, at first turned out of his office, but he was soon after restored by Abdalla himself, who now disposed of every thing, as if he was absolute king of Delhi.

Abdalla entered the city, and laid the unfortunate inhabitants under a contribution of a crore lays the
city under
contributi-
ons of rupees; a sum now more difficult to raise than ten crores, in the days of Nadir Shaw. The Persian remained two months in Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire, not only found that his capital was robbed, but that he himself was delivered over again into the hands of a person, who had now added resentment to ambition and power. The Persian, after these transactions, took the prince, Haded Buxsh, brother to the present emperor, as hostage for Allumgire's future

A.D. 1757. future behaviour; and, having forced Munnu's daughter to solemnize her marriage with Ghazi, marched towards Agra. He, on his way, laid siege to Muttra, took it by assault; and, having sacked the place, put the inhabitants to the sword, for the enormous crime of attempting to defend their lives and property. After this scene of barbarity, Abdalla advanced to Agra, which was held on the part of the king* by Fazil Chan. This omrah defended the city with such resolution, that Abdalla, after sustaining some loss, thought it prudent to raise the siege; but, being exasperated at this repulse, he spread death and devastation through the territories of the Jates, who, unable to cope with him in the field, had retired into their strong holds; from which, they at times issued, and cut off his straggling parties.

The emperor's folly.

The Persian returned to a place called Muxadabad, about eight crores from Delhi. Allumgire came out to pay his respects to him; and, by his conduct, seems to have been perfectly infatuated. When the cries of his distressed people reached heaven, that contemptible monarch, instead of endeavouring to alleviate their miseries, either by force or negotiation, was wholly bent on the gratification of a sensual appetite. The cause of his visit to Abdalla, was to obtain his influence and mediation with Sahibe Zimany, the daughter of the emperor Mahommed, whom he wanted to espouse; the princess herself being

† Though the Jates had all the country round Agra, they had not yet possessed themselves of that city.

averse to the match. When kings, instead of ex-
 erting their talents for the protection of their
 people, suffer themselves to be absorbed in indo-
 lence and sensuality, rebellion becomes patri-
 otism, and treason itself is a virtue. A. D. 1738.

In the mean time the news of some incursions ^{Abdalla re-}
 from the western Persia, into the territories of ^{turns}
 Abdalla, recalled that prince from India. Mal-
 leké Jehan, the widow of Mahommed, and her
 daughter Sahibe Zimany, claimed his protection
 against Allungire. He carried them both to Ca-
 bul, and some time after espoused the daughter
 himself.—The Persian having evacuated the im-
 perial provinces, the vizier became more cruel
 and oppressive than ever: he extorted money
 from the poor by tortures, and confiscated the
 estates of the nobility, upon false or very frivolous
 pretences. To these tyrannies he was no less
 driven by the necessity of supporting any army
 to reinforce his authority, than he was by the
 natural avidity and cruelty of his own unprin-
 cipated mind.

The king and his eldest son, Ali Gohar, were, ^{Affairs at}
 in the mean time, kept state prisoners. The lat-
 ter made his escape in the year 1732, and levying
 six thousand men at Rowari, began to raise
 the revenues of the adjacent territories. After
 he had continued this vagrant kind of life for
 nine months, the vizier, by the means of insidi-
 ous letters, in which Itul Raw, chief of the
 Mahrattors, Raja Dewali Singh, Raja Nagor
 Mull, and many other omrahs, swore to protect
 him, inveigled him to Delhi. But, in violation
 of all oaths and fair promises, he was instantly
 confined by Ghazi, in the house of Alla Murda,
 where he remained for the space of two
 months.

The

A. D. 1758.

The prince
confined by
the vizier.

The vizier having received intelligence that the prince was privately attaching some omrahs to his interest, and fearing that, by their means, he might again make his escape, determined to remove him to the citadel. He ordered a detachment of five hundred horse to execute this service. The prince not only refused to comply with the vizier's orders for his removal, but ordered the gates of the house to be shut, and, with a few friends, betook himself to arms. The houses of the nobility in Hindostan are surrounded with strong walls; and, in fact, are a kind of small forts. The vizier's troops found it therefore extremely difficult to reduce the prince. He was besieged closely for two days; and, finding that he could not defend himself much longer from the thousands that surrounded the house, he formed the gallant resolution to cut his way through the enemy.

His gallant
behavior.

He imparted his intentions to his friends, but they shrunk from his proposal as impracticable. At last, six of them, seeing him resolved to attempt this desperate undertaking alone, promised to accompany him. On the morning of the third day, they mounted their horses within the court. The gate was suddenly thrown open, and they issued forth sword in hand, with the prince at their head. He cut his way through thousands of Ghazi's troops, with only the loss of one of his gallant followers. Raja Ramnat, and Seid Ali, were the two principal men concerned in this extraordinary exploit; the other four being common horsemen. Seid Ali was wounded, but four and the prince escaped without any hurt.

Makes his
escape.

The prince having thus forced his way through the vizier's army, issued out of the city, and arrived at a place, called Vizierabad, about

about six crores from the suburbs. Ittul Raw, A.D. 1752. the Mahrattor chief, lay encamped with ten thousand horse at Vizierabad. Ittul had been hired as a mercenary by the vizier, to support him in his tyrannical proceedings: but resenting Ghazi's breach of promise to the prince, and not being regularly paid, he now thought of plundering the country under the sanction of Ali Gohar's name. He received him, therefore, with very great respect, and promised to support him.

The prince, and Ittul Raw, accordingly con- is joined by a body of Mahrattors. tinued, for the space of six months, to raise contributions on the provinces to the south of Delhi: but as the petty chiefs of villages had, during the confusions of the empire, constructed mud forts, whither they retired with their families and effects, at the approach of danger, the Mahrattors found great difficulty in supporting themselves, as none of those forts could be reduced without a regular siege, in which they were very little skilled. Ittul Raw, tired of this kind of unprofitable war, proposed to the prince to retire to Gualier, where the Mahrattors had now established a government, promising to give him a tract of country for his maintenance. Ali Gohar thanked the Mahrattor for his generous proposal, but declined to accept of it.

His eyes were now turned to another quarter. Nigib ul Dowla. Nigib ul Dowla, who had, at the king's request, betrayed Ghazi ul Dien to Abdalla, was, upon the reinstatement of the vizier in his office, obliged to fly to his jagier of Secundra, between the rivers, about forty crores below Delhi. The prince looked upon him as the most proper person to conduct his affairs. He accordingly took leave of Ittul Raw, crossed the Junna, arrived

A. D. 1759. arrived at Secundra, and was received with great respect by Nigib ul Dowla, who, however, did not think proper to join heartily in his cause.

Abdalla
marches
again to
Delhi.

To return to the transactions at Delhi: Abdalla had no sooner settled his affairs, than he prepared for another expedition into Hindostan. He resolved to support his army with the plunder of that country, and to keep them in action there for other enterprizes more arduous. He accordingly marched from Candahar, and, in the month of Ribbi ul awil, 1174, arrived in the environs of Delhi. The unhappy Allumgire applied to him for relief; and, if possible, exaggerated his own misfortunes, and the unheard-of villainies of his vizier. He, at the same time, by his emissaries, stirred up factions in the army of Ghazi, who had marched out of the city to give battle to Abdalla. The discerning mind of that minister soon penetrated into the king's machinations against him. He did not for a moment hesitate what to do; his hands had already been imbrued in blood, and he started not at murder. He resolved to take off the king, and then to let future events direct his line of action.

Designs of
the vizier.

Though the king was in some measure a prisoner, he was permitted to keep his guards and a great retinue of servants. They pitied his misfortunes, and became firmly attached to his interest. Abdalla, who was near with his army, seemed to give some encouragement to Allumgire, and that prince's party acquired strength every day. The vizier saw himself hemmed in upon all sides by enemies; he, therefore, thought it high time to assassinate his master.—He knew the weakness and superstition of the mind of Allumgire.

Allumgire. He, therefore, trumped up a story A. D. 1762. concerning a Fakier, who prophesied and wrought miracles at the Kottulah of Ferose III. The poor enthusiastic king, just as Ghazi expected, expressed a great desire to see the holy Fakier. As it would derogate from the reputation of the pretended saint, to pay a visit, even to a king; Allumgire resolved to confer upon him that piece of respect.—But he had no sooner entered Emperor induced the apartment where the holy impostor sat, than two assassins started from behind a curtain, cut off his head with a scimitar, and threw his body, out of a back window, upon the sands of the Jumna. It lay there two days without interment; none daring to pay the last office to the remains of their unfortunate king. This tragedy was acted at Delhi, in the month of the second Ribbi, 1174.

Such was the end of Allumgire, who, in an his character. age of peace and tranquillity, might have lived with some reputation, and have died with the character of a saint. But the times required uncommon abilities in a king, and the most vigorous exertion of the manly faculties of the soul; neither of which that unhappy monarch in any degree possessed. His struggles, therefore, against the ambition of Ghazi, were puerile and impotent. Had he employed the assassin against the breast of that treacherous minister, justice would have warranted the blow; had he possessed courage to have aimed it with his own hand, a thousand opportunities were not wanting. What then can be said in favor of a man, who durst not make one manly effort for his authority, or resent indignities which he daily received in person?

The perfidious vizier ordered the body of the king, after lying two days exposed on the sand of the

the

A. D. 1760. the Jumna, to be privately interred. He then took another prince of the blood, and placed him upon the throne, by the name of Shaw Jehan.

S H A W A L L U M.

NIGIB UL DOWLA, who had, some time A. D. 1761.
 before the assassination of Allungire, made Translat-
ed at
Uchhl.
 up matters with the vizier, had the address to
 retain the office of buckshi. Shocked at the
 villainy of Ghazi, or desirous to transfer to
 himself the whole power, he again betrayed
 that minister, and went over with all his forces
 to Abdalla. Ghazi, in consequence of this deser-
 tion, found himself obliged also to make peace
 with the invader.

These factions proved fatal to the unhappy Misfor-
tuates of
that city.
 Delhians. Abdalla laid the city under heavy
 contributions, and enforced the collection with
 such rigour and cruelty, that the unfortunate
 inhabitants, driven to despair, took up arms.
 The Persian ordered a general massacre, which,
 without intermission, lasted for seven days.
 The relentless Durannies * were not even then
 glutted with slaughter, but the stench of the
 dead bodies drove them out of the city. A
 great part of the buildings were, at the same
 time, reduced to ashes, and many thousands,
 who had escaped the sword, suffered a lingering
 death by famine, sitting upon the smoking
 ruins of their own houses. Thus the imperial
 city of Delhi, which, in the days of its glory,

* The tribe, of which Abdalla is chief, are distinguished by
 that name.

A.D. 1761. extended itself seventeen crores in length, and was said to contain two millions of people, became almost a heap of rubbish.

Invasion by
the Mah-
rattors.

The miseries of the unfortunate Delhians were not yet at an end. The Mahrattors, who now, without intermission, traversed the empire for plunder, advanced to partake of the spoils of Delhi with Abdalla. Jincow and Malharraw, accordingly, occupied the environs of the city. The Persian marched out against them, and both armies joined battle at a place called Mud-genu Tuckia, two crores from the depopulated capital. The Mahrattors were defeated, and pursued one hundred and fifty crores from the field: but they, in the mean time, gave Abdalla the slip, turned his rear, and set out in full march for Delhi. The Durannies, however, were so close to their heels, that, before they could attempt any thing against the city, they were a second time obliged to retreat.

Junction of
the Ma-
hommedans

In the mean time news arrived, that the Mahrattor chiefs were advancing with another very numerous army from the Decan, with a professed design to re-establish the ancient Hindoo government. Bisswafs Raw, Baow, and Ibrahim Chan Ghardi, commanded this force, which, independent of the army of Mahrattors, whom Abdalla had already defeated, consisted of one hundred thousand horse. The Mahommedans were struck with terror; they thought it necessary to join Abdalla, to support the faith; Suja ul Dowlat, who had succeeded his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, in the province of Oud, Ahmed Chan Bunguiff, chief of the Patans and all the petty chieftains of the Rohillas, hastened with their forces to Delhi.

Mahrattors
attack the
Jates.

The Mahrattors had now entered the territories of the Jates, and summoned Raja Sourage Mull

Mull to join them. Though Sourage Mull, as A. D. 1761. a Hindoo, wished for the extirpation of Mahomedism in India, he was too jealous of the power of the Mahrattors, to obey their orders. Enraged at his obstinacy, they carried fire and sword through his dominions, and compelled him at last to join them with fifty thousand men.

The Mahrattors now consisted of two hundred thousand horse, and the Mahomedans, whom Ahmed Abdalla commanded in chief, of near one hundred and fifty thousand. The eyes of all India were now turned towards the event of a war, upon which depended, whether the supreme power should remain with the Mahomedans, or revert again to the Hindoos. Upon the approach of the Mahrattors, Abdalla evacuated Delhi, and, having crossed the Jumna, encamped on the opposite bank.

The Mahrattors immediately entered the city, Delhi pd. 1761. and filled every quarter of it with devastation and death. Not content with robbing the miserable remains of Abdalla's cruelty of every thing they possessed, they stripped all the males and females quite naked, and wantonly whipped them before them along the streets. Many now prayed for death, as the greatest blessing, and thanked the hand which inflicted the wound.—Famine began to rage among the unfortunate citizens to such a degree, that men fled from their dearest friends, as from beasts of prey, for fear of being devoured. Many women devoured their own children, while some mothers, of more humanity, were seen dead in the streets, with infants still sucking at their breasts.—But let us now draw a veil over this scene of horror.

Ghazi ul Dien found, by this time, that Abdalla was become his enemy, and inclined to The power of Ghazi declines. the.

A.D. 1761. the interests of Nigib ul Dowla. He therefore endeavoured to make up matters with the Mahrattors, but his proposals were rejected. He then turned himself to the Raja of the Jates, who was in the field an unwilling auxiliary to the Mahrattors, and persuaded him to desert their cause, and retire to his own country, whither he himself accompanied him. Thus ended the public transactions of Ghazi ul Dien, who crowded into a few years of early youth more crimes and abilities, than other consummate villains have done into a long life of wickedness and treachery. Though he did not possess the Decan, the fruits of his grandfather's uncommon crimes, he may truly be said to have been the genuine heir of the parts and treasons of that monster of iniquity and villainy.

Transac-
tions in Del-
hi.

The Mahrattors, when they entered Delhi, confined Shaw Jehan, who had borne the title of royalty for a few weeks; and, to quiet the minds of some Mahomedan omrahs, who aided them, raised to the throne Jewan Bucht, the eldest son of prince Ali Gohar, who had by this time assumed the title of Shaw Allum in Behar. But this young prince, had he even abilities to reign, had now no subjects left to command; for he may be considered as the image of a king, set up by way of insult in the midst of the ruins of his capital.

Abdalla's
conduct.

Abdalla being informed of the desertion of the Jates, was extremely desirous of repassing the Jumna, and to come to battle with the Mahrattors. He, for this purpose, marched up along the bank opposite to the enemy, to Kungipurra, a place of some strength, possessed by Nizabat Chan, an independent Rohilla chief. The Persian summoned him to surrender, which he refused, and the place was consequently taken by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to assault,

the sword.—The Mahrattas, at the same time, A.D. 1761. marched up upon the side of Delhi, and, too confident of their own strength, permitted Abdalla, without opposition, to cross the Jumna, by the ford of Ramra: but observing him more bold in his motions than they expected, they became somewhat afraid, and intrenched themselves at Karnâl, in the very same ground which was occupied formerly by Mahommed, while Abdalla chose the more fortunate situation of Nadir Shaw.

Both armies lay in their entrenchments, for twelve days, skirmishing at times with small parties. Abdalla, in the mean time, found means to cut off some Mahrattor convoys, with provisions, and, by the vigilance and activity of his Durannies, to prevent all supplies from coming to the enemy's camp.—As famine began to rage among the Mahrattors, they were necessitated to march out of their lines, upon the 20th of the second Jemnad, 1174, and to offer battle to Abdalla, which he immediately accepted. The first shock was extremely violent: the Mahrattors advanced with great resolution, and charged Abdalla sword in hand with such vigor, that he was upon the point of being driven off the field, when Suja ul Dowlat, well known to the British in India, and Ahmed Chan Bungush, the Patan chief of Doab, fell upon the flank of the Mahrattors, with ten thousand horse.—This circumstance immediately turned the scale of victory. Abdalla recovered from his confusion, renewed the charge, and drove back the enemy. Should we credit common report, fifty thousand Mahrattors fell in this action, and in the pursuit: but be that as it will, the battle was extremely bloody, for all the generals of the vanquished, except Malhar Raw, who fled upon the first charge, were slain.

Abdalla,

A. D. 1761.
Writes to
the prince
Ali Gohar.

Abdalla, after having pursued the Mahrattors for the space of three days, returned to Delhi. He wrote from thence letters to prince Ali Gohar, who had proclaimed himself king in the province of Behar, under the title of Shaw Allum, requesting him to return to Delhi, and to take upon him the management of the affairs of government. Shaw Allum was too prudent to trust himself in the hands of Abdalla, and therefore that prince, whose affairs on the side of Persia required his presence, confirmed Jewan Bucht * upon the throne of Delhi, under the tuition of Nigib ul Dowla, from whom he exacted an annual tribute. Abdalla, after these transactions, returned to Cabul.

Evacuates
Delhi.

No sooner had Abdalla evacuated Delhi, than the Jates commenced hostilities against Nigib ul Dowla. They seized upon Camgar Chan, Zemindâr of Ferochagur, and appropriated to themselves his wealth and territory. The minister, upon this, took the field. The Jates advanced against him, with a great army, under the conduct of their chief, Raja Sourage Mull. The Jates being much superior to the force of Nigib ul Dowla, became confident of success; so that, when the armies approached within a few miles of one another, near Secundra, the Raja went carelessly out, with some of his officers, upon a hunting party. Nigib ul Dowla, being informed of this circumstance by means of his spies, immediately dispatched a party of five hundred horse, under Seidu, a bold partizan, in quest of the Raja.

Chief of
the Jates
cut off.

Seidu fell in with Sourage Mull, whose party consisted of about three hundred. They en-

* The present emperor's eldest son.

gaged sword in hand, with great resolution^{A. D. 1761.} on both sides; but, at length, the Jates were cut off to a man, and the Raja's head was brought to Nigib ul Dowla, who was then upon his march to attack the enemy. The unexpected appearance of Nigib, in the absence of their prince and best officers, struck the Jates with universal panic; when, at that very instant, a horseman advancing at full speed, threw the Raja's head into their line. This circumstance complicated their confusion, so that Nigib ul Dowla defeated them with ease, and pursued them, sword in hand, some crores from the field of battle.

The minister, after this victory, returned to^{Nigib ul Dowla's conduct} Delhi. But he had not long remained in that capital, before Joahir Singh, the son and successor of Sourage Mull, hired twenty thousand Mahirattors, under Malhar Raw, and advanced with all his forces to Delhi, Nigib ul Dowla was not capable to cope with the Jates and their auxiliaries in the field. He shut himself up in the city, where he was besieged for three months, and at last reduced to great distress. However, a handsome present to Malhar Raw saved him upon this critical occasion. The Jates, finding themselves betrayed by their mercenaries, were obliged to patch up a peace, and retire into their own country. These transactions happened in the year 1175 of the Higera. Nigib ul Dowla has been since frequently attacked by the Jates to the east, and the Seiks to the west, but he still maintains his ground with great resolution and ability.

But to return to the adventures of the prince Ali Gohar, who, under the title of emperor, now reigns in the small province of^{Actions of the prince Ali Gohar.}

A. D. 1762. Allahabad: we have already observed, that he, after parting with the Mahrattors, threw himself upon Nigib ul Dowla at Secundra. He could not, however, prevail upon that omrah to take up arms in his favour. He, therefore, left Secundra, with a small retinue of servants, who lived at their own expence, in hopes of better days, with their prince. With these he arrived at Lucknow, one of the principal cities of the province of Oud, where Suja ul Dowlat kept then his court. Suja ul Dowlat received the king with seeming great respect, and paid him royal honors; but this was only the false politeness of an Indian court; which is always less deficient in ceremony than in faith. It was not the interest of Suja ul Dowlat, who, by the villainies of his father, the infamous Seifdar Jung, had become an independent prince, to revive the power of the empire; he therefore declined all connection with the affairs of Ali Gohar. He, however, made him a Nasir of elephants, horses, and half a lack of roupees in money, and insinuated to him, to leave his court.

Arrives at
Allahabad.

Ali Gohar, in this distressed situation, turned towards Allahabad. Mahommed Kuli Chan, at that time, possessed that city and province. Mahommed received the prince with friendship as well as respect; for being a man of an enterprising genius, he entertained great hopes of raising himself with the fortunes of the Shaw Zadda. After maturely deliberating upon the plan of their future operations, it was re-

* Shaw Zadda literally signifies the king's son: a title by which Ali Gohar was distinguished during the life of his father Allumgire Sani.

solved, that, instead of relieving the unfortunate Allumgire from the tyranny of Gazi at Delhi, they should endeavour to possess themselves of the provinces of Beugal and Behar, the revenues of which might enable them to support a sufficient army to restore the power of the empire. Though the Shaw Zadda was the undoubted heir of the empire, yet, to take away every pretence of right from Jassier Ali Chin, whom the British, on account of his villainies, had raised to the government of Bengal, he obtained a from grant of the suballships of the three provinces private his father at Delhi. A. D. 1764.

Every thing being now concerted, public orders were issued to the neighbouring Rajas and fagedars, to repair to the standard of the Shaw Zadda; while Mahommed Kuli Chan raised all the troops of Allahabad. Camgar Chan, one of the principal fagedars of Behar, Pulwan Singh, Raja of Budgepoor, Bulbidder, Raja of Anati, and many other, both Hindoo and Mahomedan chiefs, obeyed the summons, and joined the prince. Soldiers of fortune, in the mean time, flocked to him from all quarters, so that Ali Gohar found himself soon at the head of sixty thousand men. Attempts the conquest of Bengal.

In the month of the second Ribbi of the year 1173, the Shaw Zadda marched from Allahabad towards Bengal. The particulars of this war are well known. Let it suffice to mention here, that the prince was unsuccessful in all his attempts upon Bengal; and was, at last, obliged to surrender himself to the commander of the British forces, at Geiali in Behar. He received intelligence, soon after, of the assassination of his father at Delhi. He was accordingly proclaimed emperor at Patna; but nothing being done for him, by the British, the unfortunate prince found himself obliged to throw himself into the hands Enters that kingdom, and assumes the empire.

A.D. 1764. of Suja ul Dowlat, who, in the absence of Kuli Chan, had seized upon the province of Allahabad. The villainy of Suja ul Dowlat did not rest there: he invited Kuli to a conference, and basely assassinated him.

Seized by
Suja ul
Dowlat.

Suja ul Dowlat, having possessed himself of the king's person, closely confined him. He, at the same time, mocked the unhappy man with a farce of royalty, and obliged him to ratify all grants and commissions, which might serve his own purposes. Under the sanction of these extorted deeds, Suja ul Dowlat made war upon the neighbouring states, in which, however, he was not very successful. When Cassim Ali was driven from the subaship of Bengal, Suja ul Dowlat joined him, in order to recover his government. He was defeated at Buxar, by the British, and the king being, in his flight, left behind him, threw himself a second time under our protection.

Disappoint-
ed by the
avarice of
the British.

He hoped, now, that as Suja ul Dowlat's dominions fell into the hands of the British, in consequence of this victory, that they would confer them upon him. But the unfortunate prince deceived himself. He had no money, and consequently had no friends. Suja ul Dowlat was still possessed of wealth: and the virtue of the conquerors was by no means proof against temptation. They restored to him his dominions, and, by a mere mockery of terms, called injustice by the name of generosity. A small part of the province of Allahabad was allotted to the king, for a subsistence, and the infamous son of a still more infamous Persian pedlar enjoys the extensive province of Oud, as a reward for a series of uncommon villainies.—But the transactions of the BRITISH SUBAS in India, will furnish

nish materials for a distinct history. We shall not, A. D. 1764. therefore, break in upon that subject in this place; as to mention them slightly would be, in some measure, detracting from the fame, which those GREAT MEN have so unjustly acquired.

THE PRESENT STATE OF HINDOSTAN.

A. D. 1764.
Reflections
on the de-
cline of the
empire.

THE short sketch which we have given in the preceding History of Hindostan, may serve to throw light on the decline of the great empire of the Moguls in that part of the world. We saw it gradually shrinking into itself, till the race of Timur are, at last, confined within the narrow limits of an insignificant province. It must, however, be allowed, that the uncommon misfortunes of that family proceeded no less from their own weakness than from the villainy of their servants. Had a man of parts succeeded the debility of Mahommed's government, the ancient glory of the empire might have been still restored. The revolted subas were not, then, well established in their independance; and the gallant resistance which Abdalla met with, in the reign of Ahmed, shewed that the Moguls could still defend themselves from foreign invasions.

Fallen to
pieces by
domestic
factions.

This, like other great states, fell into pieces, more by domestic factions than by foreign arms. Even the ministers of the unfortunate Mahommed were men of parts; those who managed the affairs of Ahmed were possessed of great abilities; and, in the reign of Allumgire Sani, young Ghazi displayed an uncommon and enterprizing genius. But virtue had fled from the land: no principle of honour, patriotism, or loyalty, remained; great abilities produced nothing but great crimes; and the eyes of individuals being

being wholly intent upon private advantage, A. D. 1764. the affairs of the public fell into ruin and confusion.

As from the ruins of the extensive empire of the Moguls, many dependent governments have started up of late years, it may not be improper in this place, to take a cursory view of the present state of Hindostan. To begin with the northern provinces. We have already observed, that Candahar, Cabul, Ghizni, Pishawir, with a part of Moultan and Sind, are under the dominion of Ahmet Abdalla. That prince possesses also, upon the side of Persia, the greatest part of Chnraffan and Seistan, and all Bamia, on that of Tartary. Abdalla, in short, reigns over almost all the countries which formed the empire of Ghizni, before it descended from the mountains of Afgnistân to Lahore and Delhi. It is highly probable that, as Kerim Chan has settled the western Persian, he may soon extend the empire to its ancient boundaries towards the east, and drive Abdulla into Hindostan; so that a third dynasty of kings of India may arise from among the Afghans.

The revenues of Abdulla are very considerable, amounting to about three crores of roupees. Achmet Abdalla. But as he is always in the field, and maintains an army of 100,000 horse, to defend himself from the Persians and Tartars, he is in great distress for money. This circumstance obliges him, not only to oppress his own subjects, but also to carry his depredations to foreign countries. During the competition of the seven conspirators for the throne of Persia, Abdalla had little to fear from that quarter. But as Kerim Chan has established himself, by the defeat and death of his rivals, it is extremely probable, that Abdalla will soon feel, as we have already observed, the weight of his arms, as Chorraffan and

THE HISTORY OF HINDOSTAN.

and Seistan are properly provinces of the Persian empire.

His political situation

However, Abdalla is at present at peace with Kerim, and has taken that favourable opportunity for invading Hindostan. He had, in April 1767, defeated the Seiks in three different actions, and advanced to Sirhind, about forty crores from Delhi, with an army of fifty thousand horse. It is supposed that Nigib ul Dowla, who, in the name of the present emperor's son, manages the affairs of Delhi, had, as he himself was hard pressed by the Seiks and Jates, called in Abdalla, to take upon him the government. Nigib ul Dowla, by our best intelligence, marched out of the city to meet his ally, with forty thousand men. The armies lay in sight of one another, and they were busy in negotiation, and in settling a plan for their future operations. Abdalla, in the mean time wrote circular letters to all the princes of India, commanding them to acknowledge him KING OF KINGS, and demanding a tribute. Suja ul Dowlat, in particular, had received a very sharp letter from him, upbraiding him for his alliance with INFIDELS, and demanding the imperial revenues, which that siba had converted to his own use for some years back.

His character.

Such was the situation of the affairs of Abdalla, by our last accounts from Delhi. This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His person is tall and robust, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic, and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind. Though he is not so fierce and cruel as Nadir Shaw, he supports his authority with no less rigor, and he is by no means

means less brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in short, is the most likely person now in India, to restore the ancient power of the empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi.

The SEIKS border upon the Indian dominions The SEIKS. of Abdalla. That nation, it is said, take their name of SEIKS, which signifies DISCIPLES, from their being followers of a certain philosopher of Thibet, who taught the idea of a commonwealth, and the pure doctrine of Deism, without any mixture of either the Mahommedan or Hindoo superstitions. They made their first appearance about the commencement of this century, in the reign of Bahadar Shaw, but were rather reckoned then a particular sect than a nation. Since the empire began to decline, they have prodigiously increased their numbers, by admitting proselytes of all religions, without any other ceremony than an oath, which they tender to them, to oppose monarchy.

The Seiks are, at present, divided into several The constitution of their government. states, which in their internal government are perfectly independent of one another, but they form a powerful alliance against their neighbours. When they are threatened with invasions, an assembly of the states is called, and a general chosen by them, to lead their respective quotas of militia into the field; but, as soon as peace is restored, the power of this kind of dictator ceases, and he returns, in a private capacity, to his own community. The Seiks are now in possession of the whole province of Punjâb, the greatest part of Moultan and Sind, both the banks of the Indus from Cashmire to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi, from Lahore to Sirhind. They have, of late years, been a great check upon the arms of Abdalla; and, though
in

in the course of the last year they have been unsuccessful against that prince in three actions, they are by no means subdued, but continue a severe clog upon his ambitious views in India.

Their chiefs
and force.

The chief who leads at present the army of the Seiks, is Jeffarit Singh; there is also one Nitteh Singh, who is in great esteem among them. They can, upon an emergency, muster 60000 good horse; but, though in India they are esteemed brave, they chuse rather to carry on their wars by surprize and stratagem, than by regular operations in the field. By their principles of religion and government, as well as on account of national injuries, they are inveterate enemies to Abdalla, and to the Rohilla powers.

Rohillas.

To the east of the dominions of the republic of the Seiks lie the countries which are possessed by the Rohilla Afgans. Nigub ul Dowla, whose history is comprehended in the preceeding sections, is, from his power, as well, as from the strength of his councils and his own bravery, reckoned their prince. He possesses the city of Delhi, in the name of the family of Timur, together with a considerable territory around it, on both the banks of the Jumna, and his revenue amounts to one crore of roupees. He publicly acknowledged the unfortunate Shaw Allum, at Allahabad, king, and allows a pension to his son Jewan Bucht, who, without any power maintains a kind of regal dignity at Delhi.

Nigib ul
Dowla their
chief.

Nigub ul Dowla has been known, when hard pressed by his hostile neighbours, to raise 60000 horse; but his revenues are not sufficient to support one tenth part of that number. He continues to take the field under the name of captain-general of the Mogul empire; and though he has not the power, or perhaps the inclination to assist

list the king, he keeps up a friendly correspondence with him, and, without any necessity, professes obedience and a shew of loyalty.

Besides Nigib ul Dowla, there are chiefs of the Rohilla race, who are perfectly independent; but when danger presses, they unite with him their forces. The most respectable of their chiefs is Hafiz Rhimut, who possesses a considerable district between the rivers. The next to him, in power, is Doondi Chan; and with him we may number Muttu Hussein, Jacob Ali Chan, Fatte Chan Zurein, and others of less ante, who command independent tribes beyond the Ganges to the north of Delhi.

Other Rohilla chiefs.

The whole power of the Rohillas may amount to 100,000 horse, and an equal number of infantry, upon an emergency; but these are so wretchedly appointed and ill paid, that they furnish more of ridicule, than they can impress of terror in the field. Their infantry are armed with rockets, pointed with iron, which they discharge in volleys among cavalry, which frighten more with their noise and uncommon appearance, than by the execution which they make. The Rohillas are remarkable for nothing more than their natural antipathy to the Mahrattors; which might be turned to advantage by the British in their future views upon Hindostan: but the truth is, that the Hindoos and Mahomedans so equally ballance one another in that country, that by supporting one, we may, with great facility, command both.

Then I rec.

There is a small government of the Patans to the east of the Rohilla tribes. Their district is bounded by the dominions of the present king, by those of Sujah ul Dowlat, and by the territories of the Jates. The capital of this petty principality is Eerochabad, which is situated upon the banks

Principality of Eerochabad.

THI

e Ganges, a few crores above the ruins banks of thebrated city of Kinnoge. Ahmed of the celuish, who made a great figure against Chan Bungg, the father of Suja ul Dowlat, rules Seifdar Junstrict. Ahmed is more distinguished over this dities and personal bravery, than by by his abilbf his power. His revenues do not the extent lacks; but he always keeps a stand-exceed fifty two or three thousand good horse, ing force of s well; and, upon an emergency, he which he pay vassals, who consist of about 20000 raises all his country is full of forts; and he has, men. His been hitherto able to defend himself consequently Mahrattors, Jates, and Suja ul Dow- against the lve respectively invaded his domi- lat, who ha

nions. of Agra, and a very considerable

The Jates.

The city ntry round it, extending along the tract of coun forty crores below that city to Jumna, fronof Delhi, and stretching back to within five Barampulla, are now in the hands Gualier and b nation, called the Jates. The

of a Hindommands the Jates, is descended of raja, who corace of the Jits, who possessed the the ancient Indus, as far back as the reign of banks of the Ghizni. From their prince, the Mahmood of of the Jates, though made up of whole body tribes and sects, take their name; many distinct with less probability, trace it to but others, in the Hindoo language signifies a JATE, which

labourer. made no figure in the Mogul em-

Their origin

The Jates tion, till the reign of Allumgire, pire, as a naown in Europe by the name of commonly kn In that monarch's expedition to the Aurungzebe. were first heard of as a gang of ban- Decan, they van intrepid fellow, called Chura ditti, under were then so daring as to harrafs Mun. They the

the rear of the imperial army. After the death of Allumgire, the Jates took advantage of the growing imbecility of the empire, and fortifying themselves among the hills of Narvar, spread their depredations to the gates of Agra. Mokun Singh, who, after the death of Chura Mun, commanded the Jates, took upon himself the title of Raja. Their power increased under Bodun Singh and Sourage Mull, which last was dignified with titles from the emperor.

Joahir Singh, the son of Sourage Mull, now ^{Present} reigns over the Jates, and is a very weak prince. ^{State,} His revenues do not exceed two crores of roupies; his dominions, like the rest of India, being harrassed by the Mahrattors. He may, upon some occasions, be able to bring into the field sixty or seventy thousand men, but he cannot keep long in pay one third of that number. The dominions of the Jates abound with strong fortresses, such as Dieg, Gumbere, and Aliver; in one of which their prince frequently resides, though he spends the most part of his time at Agra.

To the south-west of the Jates, Mudoo Singh, ^{Raja of} an India raja, posses a very considerable territory, ^{Joahagur.} and resides for the most part at Joahagur. He is the son of Joy Singh, a prince famous for his knowledge in astronomy, and other mathematical sciences. He entertained above a thousand learned brahmins for some years, in rectifying the kalendar, and in making new tables for the calculatinn of eclipses, and for determining the longitude and declination of the stars.—The revenues of Mudoo Singh are not very considerable, being reckoned only eighty lacks; his dominions being woody, mountainous, and consequently ill cultivated. He can, however, raise forty thousand men; and he himself is esteemed a good soldier.

Bordering

Marwar. Bordering upon Mudoo Singh, upon the frontiers of the Decan, is the extensive country of Marwar, ruled at present, by Bija Sing, the son of Bucht Singh, and grandson of Jessawind Singh. Marwar, when the empire was in a flourishing condition, yielded annually five crores of roupies: at present its revenues do not amount to half that sum, on account of the incessant depredations of the Mahrattors, its next neighbours.

Odipour. The next Hindoo government to Marwar, is that of Odipour. The raja of this country is distinguished by the name of Rana. That prince, more from his nobility of family than from his power, assumes a superiority over all the rajas of Hindostan. His dominions were formerly very extensive, but, of late years, they have been circumscribed within narrower bounds. His territories abound with mountains and forests, and are almost surrounded by the kingdoms of Malava and Guzerat. His revenues are inconsiderable, and he cannot bring into the field above fifteen thousand men.—In the vallies between the mountains of Odipour, there are many petty independent rajas; Bundi, Cottu, Rupnagur, Jesselmere, and Bianere, being governed by their respective princes, each of whom can muster six or eight thousand men.

Mahrattors. The Mahrattors are the most considerable Hindoo power in Hindostan. The principal seat of their government is Sattarah, and sometimes Puna, on the coast towards Bombay. Though the genuine Mahrattors all over India do not exceed 60000 men, yet, from their superior bravery and success in depredation, thousands of all tribes enlist themselves under their banners. These, instead of pay, receive a certain proportion of the plunder. By this means an army of Mahrattors increases like a river, the farther it advances;

advances; so that it is no uncommon thing for a force of ten or twelve thousand genuine Mahrattors to grow into 100,000, before they arrive in the place which they destine to plunder.

The present chief of the Mahrattors is Ragenot <sup>Their chiefs and con-que-
rers</sup> Raw, the son of Bagiraw. He possesses one half of Guzerat, and all the territories between that province and the Decan. He has, of late years, extended his conquests to all the provinces of Malava, and to a part of Allahabad; having reduced Himmut Singh, raja of Gualier, Anarid Singh, raja of Badawir, Anarid Singh, of Chunderi, and the princes of Ditea, Orcha, Elichpoor, Bandere, and Jassay; all of whom have become tributary to the Mahrattors. They have, moreover, possessed themselves of Orissa, which ought, in propriety, to be annexed to the subasship of Bengal, according to the late grant of the king to the British. Thus the dominions of the Mahrattors extend quite across the peninsula of India, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambait or Cambay.

The amount of the revenues of the Mahrattors ^{Their revenues} cannot easily be ascertained. They must, however, be very considerable. They subsist their armies by depredations on their neighbours, and are become the terror of the East, more on account of their barbarity than their valour. They never want a pretence for hostilities. They demand the Chout, or fourth part of the revenues of any province; and, in case of a refusal, they invade, plunder, and lay waste the country. Their horses being very hardy, their incursions are sudden, unexpected, and dreadful. They generally appoint a place of rendezvous, and their invasions are carried on by detached parties. Should a considerable force at any time oppose them, they decline coming to action; and, as they

they invigorate their hardy horses with opium, their flight, like their incursions, is very expeditious.

Forces.

The armies of the Mahrattors do not, like the troops of other Indian powers, incumber themselves with bazars or markets. They trust for their subsistence to the countries through which they march. They are armed with firelocks, some with match-lock guns, and others with bows, spears, javelins, swords and daggers. They have, within three years back, made some advances towards forming a disciplined army of infantry. They have, accordingly, at present, ten or twelve battalions, of Seapoys, uniformly clothed and armed.—All the powers of India being now sensible of the advantages which the British have gained by disciplined infantry, turned their thoughts to a similar regulation in their armies, and to improve their artillery, which was formerly too unwieldy and ill-mounted, to be of any service in the field.

Bundelcund.

To the east of Malava, and to the south of Allahabad, is the country of Bundelcund, governed by Hindoput. His territories are of a considerable extent and very fertile, and he moreover draws great wealth from his diamond mines of Hieragur and Punagur. He also claims a right to the mines of Sommelpour, but another raja possesses them at present.—The annual revenues of Hindoput amount to near two crores of roupees, including the profits arising from the mines. These he farms out to merchant-adventurers, who purchase a certain number of superficial feet of ground, and they are permitted to dig down perpendicularly as far as they please. Diamonds beyond a certain weight are the property of the prince, who has inspectors, to superintend the works.

The

The raja of Bundelcund possesses the impregnable fortrefs of Callinger, and feveral other considerable strong holds. He has, notwithstanding, been obliged to compound for a certain tribute with the Mahrattors, who generally paid him an annual vifit. Between Bundelcund and Cattack, in Oriffa, lie the rajaships of Patna and Sommelpour, which are not very confiderable; the country being mountainous, woody, and unhealthy, and the inhabitants barbarous in every refpect.

Part of the province of Allahabad is now poffeffed by SHAW ALLUM, by birthright and title, though nothing lefs fo in power, emperor of Hindoftan. He keeps the poor refemblance of a court at Allahabad, where a few ruined omrahs, in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his fervice, ftill exift the ragged pensioners of his poverty, and burden his gratitude with their prefence. The diftricts of Korah and Allahabad, in the king's poffeffion, are rated at thirty lacks, which is one half more than they are able to bear. Inftead of gaining by this bad policy, that prince, unfortunate in many refpects, has the mortification to fee his poor fubjects oppreffed by thofe who farm the revenue, while he himfelf is obliged to compound with the farmers for half the ftipulated fum. Befides the revenue arifing from Allahabad and Korah, which we may at a medium eftimate at twelve lacks, the Britifh pay to the king twenty-fix lacks out of the revenues of Bengal; which is all Shaw Allum poffeffes to fupport the dignity of the imperial houfe of Timur.—It may not, perhaps, be unacceptable to the public, to delineate, in this place, the charaeter of that unfortunate prince.

SHAW ALLUM is rubuft in his perfon, and about fix feet high. His complexion is rather

his raja tributary to the Mahrattors.
Shaw Allum the prefent Mogul.

his charac-

darker than that which was common to the race of Timur, and his countenance is expressive of the melancholy which naturally arose from his many misfortunes. He possesses personal courage; but it is of the passive kind, and may be rather called fortitude to bear adversity, than that daring boldness which loves to face danger.—He has been so often dismounted in the course of ambition, that he now fears to give it the rein; and seems less desirous to make any efforts to retrieve the power of his family, than to live quietly under the shadow of its eclipsed majesty.—His clemency borders upon weakness, and his good-nature has totally subverted his authority. He is daily induced, by importunity, to issue out orders which he takes no means to enforce, and which, he is certain, will not be obeyed. From this blemish in the character of Shaw Allum, arose the half of his misfortunes; for the great secret of establishing authority, is to give no orders which cannot be enforced, and rather to suffer small injuries, than shew resentment, without the power of punishing.

His generosity is more than equal to his abilities, and too often ill bestowed. He is too much addicted to women, and takes more pains to maintain his Haram, than to support an army.—But though we cannot call him a great prince, we must allow him to be a good man. His virtues are many; but they are those of private life, which never appear with lustre upon a throne. His judgment is by no means weak; but his passions are not strong: the easiness of his temper is therefore moulded like wax by every hand; and he always gives up his own better opinion for those of men of inferior parts.—He is affable in his conversation, but seldom descends to pleasantry. Upon the whole, though
Shaw

Shaw Allum is by no means qualified to restore a lost empire, he might have maintained it with dignity in prosperous time, and transmitted his name, as a virtuous prince, to posterity. It is with great regret that the author, from his regard to truth, cannot speak more favourably of a prince, to whom his gratitude and attachment are due, for repeated testimonies of his esteem and friendship.

The territories of Suja ul Dowlat, who possesses the province of Oud, border upon those of the king. His revenues amount to near two crores of roupes, out of which he pays nothing to the emperor, though he pretends to recognize his title as his sovereign. Since his defeat at Buxar, Suja ul Dowlat attends very much to the discipline of his army, and the proper regulation of his finances. He has already formed ten battalions of Scapoys, and has made great improvements in his artillery. When the news of Abdalla's late invasion came, he levied twelve thousand horse, upon a better footing than is generally practised in Hindostan. He is now the ally of the British in India, and as his revenues will never enable him to support himself in the field against them, it is probable his principle of fear, for he has none of honour or gratitude, will make him stand to the letter of the treaty.

Suja ul Dowlat is extremely handsome in his person; about five feet eleven inches in height, and so nervous and strong, that, with one stroke of the sabre, he can cut off the head of a buffalo. He is active, passionate, ambitious; his penetrating eye seems, at first sight, to promise uncommon acuteness and fire of mind: but his genius is too volatile for depth of thought; and he is consequently more fit for the manly exercises of the field, than for deliberation in the closet.—

Till of late he gave little attention to business. He was up before the sun, mounted his horse, rushed into the forest, and hunted down tigers or deer till the noon of day. He then returned, plunged into the cold bath; and spent his afternoons in the Haram among his women.—Such was the bias of Suja ul Dowlat's mind till the late war. Ambitious without true policy, and intoxicated with the passions of youth, he began a wild career, in which he was soon checked. Stung with the loss of reputation, his passions have taken another course. His activity is employed in disciplining his army, and he now spends more time at the comptoir of his finances, than in dallying with the ladies of the seraglio. His authority therefore, is established, his revenues increased, and his army on a respectable footing. But, with all his splendid qualities, he is cruel, treacherous, unprincipled, deceitful: carrying a specious appearance, purposely to betray, and when he embraces with one hand, will stab with the other to the heart. Together with being heir to the fruits of his father's crimes, he inherits all his latent baseness of mind; for, if we except personal courage, he possesses not one virtue more than Seifdar Jung.

The province of Oud is situated to the north-east of the Ganges, bordering upon Behar, from which it is, on the one side, divided by the river Deo, or Gagera, and on the other by the Carumnassa. The country is level, well cultivated and watered. It is divided, on the north, by a chain of mountains from Thibet. In the vallies, which intersect that immense ridge of hills, there are several independent rajas, too inconsiderable to be formidable to Suja ul Dowlat.

The provinces of **Bengal** and company, in
 sold by the British in appear-
 reality, by the right of arms, though
 ance, by a grant from the present emperor. This
 is not a proper place to enter into particulars
 concerning those provinces: it may suffice to ob-
 serve, that Bengal and Behar, including what is
 called the company's lands, and 33,025,968
 merchandize, yielded in April, 1766 government,
 Sixca rousees. The expences of a na-
 the tribute to the king, and a pension of his
 bob, set up on account of the village, and
 father, amounted to 22,450,000 of the com-
 consequently the balance in favour of the com-
 pany was 10,575,968 rousees, or 1,321,994l.
 15s. of our money.—The British in Bengal,
 gal consists of three battalions of foot, disci-
 and thirty of Seapoys, regularly armed, disci-
 plined, and uniformly clothed; so that we are
 much superior, even upon that establishment,
 to any other power at present in Hindustan.

In the Decan the British are almost as power-
 ful as in Bengal. We support Mahomed Ali, Nabob of
 as nabob of the Carnatic, and he of his own Aircut
 expence of our army, in defence of his separate
 country. There is, in a manner, no company.
 interest, between the nabob and the consequence
 it is from him they derive their force he is
 in the Carnatic, and it is by their force, till
 maintained in his government. Mahomed Ali, which,
 of late, kept in pay a body of troops, he
 from their expence and want of discipline, he
 has been prevailed upon to reduce to a small
 number. His nabobship being between
 to him, by the late definitive treaty a greater
 Great Britain and France, he possesses in Asia.
 security of power than any other prince
 The character of Mahomed has recommended him

him so much to the present Mogul, that that prince has given him a perpetual grant of the government of that immense country, extending from the river Christna to cape Comorin.

His character.

Mahommed Ali Chan is five feet ten inches high; well proportioned and of an engaging aspect. His eye is full, lively and penetrating; his features are expressive of sensibility and a noble disposition of mind. His manner attaches the stranger to him; and commands the friend. The first rarely sees him, without feeling an immediate interest in his welfare; and the latter has never been known to desert him. Calm, affable, and full of dignity, he has improved the elevated passions of the Asiatic, with what is amiable in the character of the European. The duplicity of the east is lost in the good heart of Mahommed. He is possessed of ambition, without any one of those vices, which too frequently attend that passion; and his policy is never unworthy of the magnanimity of a virtuous prince—"A great man," says Mahommed Ali, "may conceal his sentiments, but ought never to deceive. It was my fortune to place the way of rectitude before me, in my youth, and I never deviated into the paths of deception. I met the British with that openness, which they love; and it is my honor, as well as security, to be the ally of a nation composed of princes." This was his declaration, at the conclusion of the late war, when he was put in peaceable possession of the Carnatic; and these were his sentiments when, at the head of his father's army, he rejected the offers of France, and saved the very being of the company, by raising the siege of Fort St. David.

Mahommed has frequently experienced the successive extremes of fortunes; and that circumstance

cumstance has manifestly affected his spirits. A similar solicitude of situation, with other nabobs, who have fallen sacrifices to their own ambition or the iniquitous avarice of European, has impressed an affecting melancholy on his mind. His joy is consequently, at times, the more exquisite; and the appearance of a friend, in whom he could confide in his distress, has been known to overwhelm him more than the loss of a battle. The greatest encomium upon his character, is his being able to have struggled, with success, during the space of eighteen years, against the avaricious and revengeful passions of Europeans, without losing his dominions, or forfeiting his faith to the British nation.—Mahommed has five sons. They are instructed in the languages and manners of Europe; and from their natural genius and education they promise, one day, to make a figure in India.

The author of this history is indebted, for the above character of Mahommed, to a person, who had a perfect view of the original. That prince is so well known and so much esteemed in Europe, that the cursory mention made of him, was a great defect in the first edition. The author, though no stranger to Mahommed's merit and situation, was not perfectly informed; and he chose to pass slightly over a character, which he could not delineate either from personal knowledge or certain intelligence from others. The Carnatic has lately been an important scene of war; and the circumstance of the nabob of Arcot being the first Asiatic prince, who had his dominions guaranteed to him in Europe; renders him an object of public attention, exclusive of his unsullied reputation, for honor and fidelity to the British nation.

The power of the Nizam, who resides at Hyderabad, though he possesses all the province of Golconda,

Golconda, is, of late, very much circumscribed. He, however, still maintains an army of 60 or 70,000 men; but without discipline, and ill paid, they are by no means formidable. He, some time ago, entered into a treaty with the British, but he has of late shewn no disposition to adhere to it long.

HyderNaig,
now known
by the name
of Hyder
Ali.

Hyder-Naig, a soldier of fortune, who, by his personal merit, raised himself from a low station to the sovereignty of almost all the coast of Malabar, has by his abilities in the cabinet, as well as by his valour in the field, rendered himself extremely formidable to the British in Hindostan. The character which the author received of him in India enabled him to foretel, in the preceding edition, the figure which he has since made; though no man could foresee the dispirited politics of our councils on the coast. After managing the war with uncommon abilities, Hyder, by a stroke of generalship, obtained a peace, which our manifest superiority had no excuse to grant. As the last desperate push of his fortunes, he turned the rear of our armies, and presented himself before Madras. We were alarmed, as if his horse had wings to fly over our walls. We complied with his insolent demands; and our army, which was in full march after him, was ordered not to advance a step. Friendship was made with the lion, for bravely struggling when he found himself entangled in the toils.

A current of many victories will not be able to wash away the stain which this treaty has affixed to the British character in India. The peace however which we obtained will not be lasting. Hyder, who has some title to the name of Ali, or the *sublime*, which he has assumed, has already turned his arms against the Mahrattors; and, by the last advices from Puna, he has worsted these Marauders in several engagements.



Hyder & Ally,

ments. They are, however, on account of their numbers and their predatory manner of war, very formidable to Hyder; and, in spite of all his efforts, they wasted his dominion when they durst not meet him face to face on the field. Their force, according to the best accounts, consists of 60,000 horse, 65,000 foot, 10,000 for the use of the artillery, and 400 elephants.

The low state of Hyder-Ali's finances, and the ravages committed in his dominions, induced him in January 1770 to offer even to purchase a peace at the enormous expence of two millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money. This sum was rejected by Madco-Raw, the chief of the Mahrattor aristocracy, who absolutely refused to close with any terms, till Hyder-Ali should evacuate all his conquests on the coast of Malabar. Hyder would not comply with these exorbitant demands, and, in the mean time, took his measures so well, that he has hemmed in, by the last accounts, the immense army of the Mahrattors in a sweep of the river Tungbudra.

In the month of March 1770, the Mahrattor army was in this disastrous situation. They had scarce a month left to determine their fate, as their provisions were gradually decreasing, and the rains swelling the rivers apace. Hyder, in the mean time, by his emissaries, fomented divisions in their camp. There arose great dissensions among their chiefs, as is generally the case in every nation when the affairs of the public are in an untoward situation. The common soldiers in particular, together with many leaders, remonstrated against the confinement of Raja-Baw, the uncle of the commanding Prince. Hyder by his public declarations abets the faction; he exalts to the skies the abilities of Raja-Baw, and pretends to fear his enlargement. This piece of political art and refinement has had its effect; and
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if it does not occasion a revolution in the Mah-rattor state, it will, at least, bring Hyder with reputation out of a very destructive war with those Marauders.

Nor does Hyder-Ali confine his thoughts to the trophies of the field. He has extended his ambition with success to the cabinets of the neighbouring powers. By intrigues in the court of the Nizam he has raised his brother to the command of that prince's armies; so that a revolution in Golconda seems to roll within his mind.

His character.

Hyder-Ali is an extraordinary character, even in a country where men have an ample field for the exertion of great talents. With all the vigour of his councils he can neither read or write; but these qualifications are not essential to a military genius, nor can learning give strength of mind. He is possessed of a surprising memory, deep penetration, quickness of resolution, great perseverance, conduct aided by personal courage, and that inexorable temper of mind, whether from policy or disposition, that never forgives a crime. In his *Durbar*, where he smokes his Hucca, he pronounces sentence of death by waving his hand; or if he uses words upon the occasion, they are only these—TAKE HIM AWAY. He thinks no more of the subject, but proceeds coolly to other business. Notwithstanding this summary kind of barbarous justice, his decisions are generally equitable: he is feared, obeyed, and beloved.

Observations.

If men are justly said to be conquered first in their own imaginations, they are certainly kept in subjection by the means which reduced them to obedience. The circumstance which threw the discipline of Europe into our hands, enabled us to subdue the Indians with their own domestic force; and they ascribed to our abilities, what was

was the result of accident. Had our address in the cabinet continued to us the reputation which our arms had acquired in the field, the observations which the first edition of this work conveyed concerning the conquest of India, could not be deemed either visionary or impracticable. The charm is now broke; Hyder-Ali has discovered that we are not invincible; and that knowledge is of itself sufficient to circumscribe our power. It cannot however be altogether out of place to continue to the public the opinions which the author had formed to himself in the year 1767, from an accurate survey of the political state of India, at that period.

Thus have we, in a few words, endeavoured to give a general idea of the present state of Hindostan. The reflexions which naturally arise from the subject, might swell this work into a volume. It is apparent, however, from what has been said, that the immense regions of Hindostan might be all reduced by a handful of regular troops.—Ten thousand European infantry, together with the Sepoys in the company's service, are not only sufficient to conquer all India, but, with proper policy, to maintain it, for ages, as an appendage of the British crown.—This position may, at first sight, appear a paradox, to people unacquainted with the genius and disposition of the inhabitants of Hindostan; but to those who have considered both with attention, the thing seems not only practicable, but easy.

General reflexions.

That slavery and oppression, which the Indians suffer from their native princes, make the justice and regularity of a British government appear to them in the most favourable light. The great men in the country have no more idea of patriotism, than the meanest slaves; and the people can have no attachment to chiefs whom they regard as tyrants. Soldiers of fortune are so numerous

numerous in India, that they comprehend one fourth of the inhabitants of that extensive country. They are never paid one third of the stipulated sum, by the princes of Hindostan, which renders them mutinous and discontented; but they would most certainly approve themselves obedient, faithful, and brave, in the service of a power who should pay them regularly.

In a country like India, where all religions are tolerated, the people can have no objection to the British, on account of theirs. The army might be composed of an equal number of Mahomedans and Hindoos, who would be a check upon one another, while a small body of Europeans would be a sufficient check upon both. The battalions ought to be commanded altogether by European officers, who, if they do their duty properly, and behave with justice to their men, may attach them to their persons, with stronger ties than any troops born in Europe. But if justice is not observed to soldiers, human nature, in this, as in all countries, will and must revolt against oppression.

At present, the black officers of the Seapoys must rise from the ranks. This is sound policy, and ought to be continued. Men of family and influence are deterred, by this circumstance, from entering into the service. These officers are, therefore, entirely our creatures, and will never desert a people, among whom alone they can have any power; for no acquired discipline will give weight to a mean man, sufficient to bring to the field an army of Indians.

The advantages of a conquest of Hindostan to this country are obvious. It would pay as much of the national debt, as government should please to discharge. Should the influx of wealth raise the price of the necessaries and conveniences of life, the poor, on the other hand, by be-
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ing eased of most of their taxes, would be more able to purchase them.—But, say some grave moralists, how can such a scheme be reconciled to justice and humanity?—This is an objection of no weight.—Hindostan is, at present, torn to pieces by factions. All laws, divine and human, are trampled under foot.—Instead of one tyrant, as in the times of the empire, the country now groans under thousands; and the voice of the oppressed multitude reaches heaven. It would, therefore, be promoting the cause of justice and humanity, to pull those petty tyrants from the height to which their villainies have raised them, and to give to so many millions of mankind, a government founded upon the principles of virtue and justice.—The task is no less glorious than it is practicable; for it might be accomplished with half the blood which is often expended, in Europe, upon an ideal system of a balance of power, and in commercial wars, which must be attended with little eclat, as they are destitute of striking and beneficial consequences.

F I N I S.